

THE SUMERIAN KING LIST

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THE SUMERIAN KING LIST



BY THORKILD JACOBSEN

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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TO O. E. RAVN, TO THE MEMORY OF EDWARD CHIERA
AND TO H. FRANKFORT ARE THESE STUDIES DEDICATED

Wennington, Princeton, New Jersey

PREFACE

The incentive to the studies here presented was furnished by the excavations of the Oriental Institute at Tell Asmar. When in the season of 1931/32 we opened up strata of Agade and Early Dynastic times, the chronology of these periods naturally occupied our thoughts greatly, and the author felt prompted to resume earlier, more perfunctory studies of the Sumerian King List. The main ideas embodied in the present work took shape that season in the evenings, after days spent in the houses and among the remains of the periods with which the King List deals. The detailed working-out and repeated testing of these ideas have occupied much of the author's time in the years since then. He releases them—although he feels that they will continue to occupy his thoughts for a long time yet—in the sincere hope that they will prove fruitful to other workers in this field and contribute toward better understanding of the innumerable chronological problems which still await solution.

The author is indebted to many people for help and encouragement—first of all to the three men to whom this book is dedicated. To the example of their widely different but all truly scholarly personalities I owe much. O. E. Ravn, my teacher, is the embodiment of his own sober concepts of what scholarship should be and the best mentor a young Assyriologist could have. As for Edward Chiera—only those who had the good fortune to work with this warm-hearted, vital, and inspiring scholar can fully realize how irreparable a loss our science suffered at his untimely death in 1933. With H. Frankfort I have been associated through ten years of work in the field and at home, fruitful years of friendship and free exchange of ideas which I value highly. Toward the studies here presented he has shown a never failing interest.

Sincere thanks are due, further, to the late James Henry Breasted for accepting this book for the Oriental Institute series and especially to the present director of the Institute, John A. Wilson, for making the fulfilment of that promise possible although conditions have changed materially. John Wilson also suggested comparing my results with Egyptian chronology and assisted with the Egyptological literature on the subject.

To my colleagues in the Oriental Institute I am indebted for suggestions and helpful criticism on many points. Several have undertaken to read the manuscript completely or in part. I may mention Professors A. T. Olmstead and F. W. Geers and Drs. George G. Cameron, Robert M. Engberg, C. W. McEwan, Ignace J. Gelb, and Samuel I. Feigin.

Of inestimable value has been the interest and painstaking care which Dr. T. George Allen and his associates on the editorial staff of the Oriental Institute have shown in dealing with this volume. I wish especially to emphasize my feeling of deep indebtedness to Mrs. Ruth S. Brookens, with whom every point of both style and argument has been thoroughly discussed. Through her unflagging interest, her fine scholarly approach, and excellent judgment this essay has profited materially. The index at the end of the book is also due to her.

THORKILD JACOBSEN

COPENHAGEN

April 14, 1939

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AH</i>	DELITZSCH, F. <i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Leipzig, 1896).
<i>AJSL</i>	American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago etc., 1884—).
<i>An. Or.</i>	<i>Analecta orientalia</i> (Roma, 1931—).
<i>AO</i>	Paris. Musée national du Louvre. <i>Antiquités orientales</i> . (Followed by catalogue number.)
<i>AOF</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i> (Berlin, 1923— [Vols. I-II called “ <i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i> ”]).
<i>AS</i>	Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. <i>Assyriological studies</i> (Chicago, 1931—).
<i>AS No. 6</i>	JACOBSEN, THORKILD. <i>Philological notes on Eshnunna and its inscriptions</i> (1934).
<i>BE</i>	Pennsylvania. University. The Babylonian expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: <i>Cuneiform texts</i> , ed. by H. V. Hilprecht (Philadelphia, 1893-1914).
<i>BE I 1-2</i>	HILPRECHT, H. V. <i>Old Babylonian inscriptions, chiefly from Nippur</i> (1893-96).
<i>BE III 1</i>	MYHRMAN, DAVID W. <i>Sumerian administrative documents</i> (1910).
<i>BE VI 2</i>	POEBEL, ARNO. <i>Babylonian legal and business documents . . . chiefly from Nippur</i> (1909).
<i>BE XX 1</i>	HILPRECHT, H. V. <i>Mathematical, metrological and chronological tablets from the temple library of Nippur</i> (1906).
<i>BE XXXI</i>	LANGDON, S. H. <i>Historical and religious texts from the temple library of Nippur</i> (1914).
<i>BM</i>	British Museum. (Followed by catalogue number.)
<i>Bu</i>	British Museum. Budge collection.
<i>CBS</i>	Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. Catalogue of the Babylonian section.
<i>CR</i>	Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, <i>Paris</i> . <i>Comptes rendus des séances</i> (Paris, 1858—).
<i>CT</i>	British Museum. <i>Cuneiform texts from Babylonian tablets, &c., in the British Museum</i> (London, 1896—).
<i>Déc.</i>	SARZEC, ERNEST DE. <i>Découvertes en Chaldée. II. Partie épigraphique et planches</i> (Paris, 1884-1912).
<i>EHA</i>	SMITH, SIDNEY. <i>Early history of Assyria to 1000 B.C.</i> (London, 1928).
<i>GSG</i>	POEBEL, ARNO. <i>Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik</i> (Rostock, 1923).
<i>HRETA</i>	NIES, J. B., and KEISER, C. E. <i>Historical, religious, and economic texts and antiquities (Babylonian inscriptions in the collection of James B. Nies. II [New Haven, Conn., 1920])</i> .

ITT İstanbul. Asari Atika Müzeleri. Inventaire des tablettes de Tello conservées au Musée impérial ottoman (Paris, 1910-21).

ITT II 1-2 GENOUILLAC, HENRI DE. Textes de l'époque d'Agadé et de l'époque d'Ur (1910-11).

ITT IV DELAPORTE, LOUIS. Textes de l'époque d'Ur (1912).

JAOS American Oriental Society. Journal (Boston etc., 1849—).

JRAS Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Journal (London, 1834—).

JSOR Society of Oriental Research. Journal (Chicago etc., 1917—).

K British Museum. Kouyunjik collection.

KAH I MESSERSCHMIDT, LEOPOLD. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts (*WVDOG* XVI [Leipzig, 1911]).

KAH II SCHROEDER, OTTO. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts (*WVDOG* XXXVII [Leipzig, 1922]).

KAR EBELING, ERICH. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts (*WVDOG* XXVIII 1-4 and XXXIV 1-5 [Leipzig, 1919—]).

KAT³ SCHRADER, EBERHARD. Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament (3. Aufl., . . . neu bearb. von H. ZIMMERN und H. WINCKLER; Berlin, 1903).

KAV SCHROEDER, OTTO. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts (*WVDOG* XXXV [Leipzig, 1920]).

Ki British Museum. King collection.

MDP France. Délégation en Perse. Mémoires (Paris, 1900—).

MDP XXII-XXIV SCHEIL, J. V. Actes juridiques susiens (1930-33).

MJ Pennsylvania. University. University museum. The Museum journal (Philadelphia, 1910—).

MVAG Vorderasiatisch-aegyptische Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1896-1908; Leipzig, 1909—).

OECT Oxford editions of cuneiform texts (Vol. I: ". . . inscriptions"; London, 1923—).

OECT II LANGDON, S. H. Historical inscriptions, containing principally the chronological prism, W-B. 444 (1923).

OIP Chicago. University. Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).

OIP XLIII FRANKFORT, H., LLOYD, S., and JACOBSEN, T. The Gimilsin temple and the palace of the rulers at Tell Asmar (in press).

OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Berlin, 1898-1908; Leipzig, 1909—).

PBS Pennsylvania. University. University museum. Publications of the Babylonian section (Philadelphia, 1911—).

PBS IV 1 POEBEL, ARNO. Historical texts (1914).

PBS V POEBEL, ARNO. Historical and grammatical texts (1914).

PBS VIII 1 CHIERA, EDWARD. Legal and administrative documents from Nippur (1914).

PBS VIII 2 CHIERA, EDWARD. Old Babylonian contracts (1922).

PBS X 2 LANGDON, S. H. Sumerian liturgical texts (1917).

PBS XI 1	CHIERA, EDWARD. Lists of personal names from the temple school of Nippur (1916).
PBS XIII	LEGRAIN, LEON. Historical fragments (1922).
PBS XV	LEGRAIN, LEON. Royal inscriptions and fragments from Nippur and Babylon (1926).
R	RAWLINSON, SIR HENRY. The cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia (5 vols.; London, 1861-84; Vol. IV, 2d ed., 1891).
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale (Paris, 1884—).
REC	THUREAU-DANGIN, FRANÇOIS. Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme (Paris, 1898).
RISA	BARTON, GEORGE A. The royal inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad (New Haven, Conn., 1929).
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie, hrsg. von ERICH EBELING . . . und BRUNO MEISSNER (Berlin und Leipzig, 1932—).
RTC	THUREAU-DANGIN, FRANÇOIS. Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes (Paris, 1903).
SAK	THUREAU-DANGIN, FRANÇOIS. Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften (Leipzig, 1907).
SEM	CHIERA, EDWARD. Sumerian epics and myths (<i>OIP XV. Cuneiform series. III</i> [Chicago, 1934]).
ŠL	DEIMEL, ANTON. Šumerisches Lexikon (2. Aufl.; Roma, 1930—).
SRT	CHIERA, EDWARD. Sumerian religious texts (Crozer Theological Seminary. Babylonian publications. I [Upland, Pa., 1924]).
TMH	Jena. Universität. Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena (Leipzig, 1932—).
TRS	GENOULLAC, HENRI DE. Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre. I-II (Paris. Musée national du Louvre. Textes cunéiformes. XV-XVI [Paris, 1930]).
U	Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur collection.
UE	Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur excavations (London, 1927—).
UE I	HALL, H. R., and WOOLLEY, C. L. Al- Ubaid (1927).
UE II	WOOLLEY, C. L. The royal cemetery (1934).
UET	Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. Ur excavations; texts (London, 1928—).
UET I	GADD, C. J., and LEGRAIN, L. Royal inscriptions (1928).
VAT	Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Thontafelsammlung.
W-B	Oxford. University. Ashmolean Museum. H. Weld-Blundell collection.

<i>WZKM</i>	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien, 1887—).
<i>YOS</i>	Yale Oriental series. Babylonian texts (New Haven, Conn., 1915—).
<i>YOS I</i>	CLAY, A. T. Miscellaneous inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian collection (1915).
<i>ZA</i>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig, 1886—).
<i>ZDMG</i>	Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847—).

I

INTRODUCTION

The first fragment of the Sumerian King List of any importance was published by Hilprecht in 1906,¹ the second by Scheil in 1911.² The following ten years saw a steady stream of new material appear: four important texts were published by Poebel in 1914,³ two more by Legrain in 1920–21;⁴ and lastly, in 1923, came the magnificent Weld-Blundell prism,⁵ which in many respects was to close the earlier phase of the study of our document.

The interest which this material aroused in the scientific world was considerable, and numerous scholars took up the problems which it presented. Besides the names already mentioned we might cite Gadd, Langdon, Eduard Meyer, Thureau-Dangin, Ungnad, and many others.⁶ As was natural, considering the fragmentary state of the material and the gradual way in which it accumu-

¹ *BE* XX 1 (1906) chap. iv.

² *CR*, 1911, pp. 606–20.

³ *PBS* V, Nos. 2–5. The reverse of No. 5 had been published earlier by Hilprecht (see n. 1); the obverse was new.

⁴ *MJ* XI (1920) 175–80; *MJ* XII (1921) 75–77; *PBS* XIII, Nos. 1–2.

⁵ Langdon, *OECT* II, Pls. I–IV. Since then fragments of Elamite versions have been published by Scheil in *RA* XXXI (1934) 149–66.

⁶ Without attempting completeness we may quote the following:

After Scheil's text (*CR*, 1911, pp. 606–20): F. Hrozný in *WZKM* XXVI (1912) 143–62; F. X. Kugler in *ZA* XXVII (1912) 242–45; Eduard Meyer in *Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte* XXXI (1912) 1062–88, and in his *Geschichte des Altertums* I 2 (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1913) § 329a; F. E. Peiser in *OLZ* XV (1912) 154 f.; Poebel *ibid.* col. 290; A. H. Sayce in Society of Biblical Archaeology, *Proceedings* XXXIV (1912) 165–72; Scheil in *RA* IX (1912) 69; Thureau-Dangin *ibid.* pp. 33–37 and 81–83 and in his *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad* (Paris, 1918) p. 65.

After Poebel's texts: G. A. Barton in *MJ* VI (1915) 55–58 and in *Journal of Biblical Literature* XXXIV (1915) 1–9; L. Delaporte in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* LXXII (1915) 183–86; F. Hommel in J. B. Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets* ("Assyriologische Bibliothek" XXV [Leipzig, 1920]) pp. 205–7; L. W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt in Relation to Hebrew Tradition. (The Schweich Lectures, 1916* [London, 1918]) pp. 27–40; T. G. Pinches in *Expository Times* XXVII (Edinburgh, 1915/16) 517–21; Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 71–140.

After Legrain's texts: A. T. Clay in *JAOS* XLI (1921) 241–63; C. J. Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad* ("The Eothen Series" I [London, 1921]); Hommel, "Zur alt-babylonischen Königsliste," *Beiträge zur morgenländischen Altertumskunde* III (München, 1922) 33–36; Langdon in *Expository Times* XXXII (1920/21) 410–13; Poebel in *ZA* XXXIV (1922) 39–53; Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XVIII (1921) 153 f.; A. Ungnad in *ZA* XXXIV 1–14; L. Waterman in *AJS* XXXIX (1922/23) 233–47.

lated, most of these studies were concerned primarily with the reconstruction of the text, the placing of the known fragments, and the filling up of gaps. The reliability of the information contained in the fragments was rarely seriously questioned. Most scholars inclined to accept it at face value and saw the chief difficulty in the fragmentary state of our knowledge of the text: "The royal canon when complete would be a most precious document and would help us to fix the lines of Babylonian history from the legendary time of the kings after the flood, down to the end of the Isin dynasty."⁷ The optimistic view prevalent and the enthusiasm at seeing the gaps gradually fill up is vividly expressed by Gadd in the introduction to *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad* (p. v):

The acquisition of a complete and trustworthy scheme for the foundations of the oldest history of even one well-defined region in the ancient world is no mean addition to science, and perhaps only those who work in less favoured fields can duly appreciate the fortune of the Assyriologist in this important respect. Thanks to discoveries which date almost entirely from the last ten years, this claim can now be made with confidence for the early period of history in Babylonia. This short essay is an attempt to utilise the latest available material, which seems to afford sufficient indications to furnish at last an entirely connected scheme of chronology, which rests, not upon conjecture, but upon the evidence of written records, that are, in comparison, almost as old as the events which they commemorate.

Only two years later, however, Langdon published the Weld-Blundell prism, which gives the text of the King List almost complete. The publication of this text, it is true, confirmed in a very gratifying manner the results of the early phase of the study of the King List. The placing of the known fragments and the reconstruction of the gaps had for the major part been correct. The text now available also showed, however, that a number of important rulers whom one would certainly have expected to find in the King List were not there; and when excavations at al-'Ubaid in that same year revealed an inscription mentioning one early king who was listed, Mes-Anne-pada, it was at once obvious that this king could not possibly have reigned so far back in time as his position in the King List would suggest.

The result of these new facts was a wave of rapidly growing skepticism. The discrepancy between the actual date of Mes-Anne-pada, as indicated by the orthography of his inscription, and the early place to which he was assigned in the King List gave point to a chronicle to which Weidner called attention in 1923 and again in 1926, which indicated that several dynasties listed as consecutive in the King List must in reality have been contemporaneous. Around these observations and around the facts that so many kings who were to be

⁷ Legrain, *PBS* XIII 15.

expected in the King List are not mentioned there and that so many of the older rulers mentioned appear with unbelievably long reigns, center most of the comments on the King List after 1923.⁸ Only a few have taken as lenient a view as Gadd,⁹ that "in the main it presents a true summary of the order of events in the early kingdoms of Sumer, it doubtless preserves substantially the order in which cities rose to predominance, and the names of many of their most celebrated rulers," or as Weidner,¹⁰ who only makes the reservation that "seine restlose Auswertung für die Geschichtswissenschaft wird freilich erst möglich sein, wenn Chroniken und historische Inschriften über das zeitliche Verhältnis der Dynastien zueinander die nötige Aufklärung gegeben haben werden." More scholars lean toward the view of Eduard Meyer, who, admitting that some of the information of the King List may go back to reliable historical sources, continues:

Wie weit es freilich den Gelehrten zu Ende des dritten Jahrtausends noch möglich war, den wahren geschichtlichen Zusammenhang einigermassen festzuhalten oder wiederherzustellen, bleibt fraglich genug; man wird vermuten dürfen, dass Dynastien, die in den einzelnen Städten nebeneinander bestanden und um das Oberkönigtum rangen, fälschlich als aufeinander folgend betrachtet worden sind . . . und dass nicht selten einzelne Namen, die sich erhalten hatten, aneinander gereiht und zu Dynastien verbunden sind. Daneben ist die Einwirkung von Volkssagen erkennbar.¹¹

The extreme consequences of these premises, finally, were sharply drawn by Landsberger in 1931:

Der Wert der Königsliste, der selbst in historisch völlig klaren Perioden wegen ihrer Gepflogenheit, gleichzeitig regierende Dynastien hintereinander aufzuführen, beschränkt ist, ist für diese alten Zeiten noch geringer, wie sich aus den hohen Regierungsdaten, dem Fehlen wichtiger Namen wie Me-silim und Lugal-kisal-si ergibt. Wir haben

⁸ Doubts concerning the reliability of the data for the dynasties of Kish and Akshak given in Scheil's list had been expressed already in 1913 by Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I 2 § 329a, and later, in 1918, by Thureau-Dangin, *La chronologie* . . . , p. 65.

Of the literature on the King List after the publication of Langdon's text we may quote H. Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III (1924) 19–35 and A. Deimel, *Die altbabylonische Königsliste und ihre Bedeutung für die Chronologie* (Rom, 1935), who are chiefly concerned with the text of the list. The inconsistencies of its data and the extent of its historical value have been discussed by Gadd in *UE* I 128–40; Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* I (Paris, 1924) 5 f.; B. Landsberger in *OLZ* XXXIV (1931) 118 f.; Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie Babyloniens, Assyriens und Ägyptens* (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1925) pp. 27–39; Sidney Smith, *EHA*, pp. 18–44; E. Unger in *OLZ* XXXVII (1934) 363 f.; A. Ungnad, *Subartu* (Berlin und Leipzig, 1936) p. 35; Weidner in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* I (1923) 95 and in *AOF* III (1926) 198 f. An effort to trace the genesis of textual errors in the Agade dynasty was made by me in *Acta Orientalia* V (1927) 302–9. The question of what sources underlie the King List is discussed by H. G. Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII (1934) 2–7 and by Sidney Smith, *op. cit.* p. 29.

⁹ *History and Monuments of Ur* (London, 1929) p. 67.

¹⁰ *AOF* III 199.

¹¹ *Die ältere Chronologie* . . . , p. 38.

den Eindruck, dass die in der späteren Zeit durch die Sage berühmt gewordenen Gestalten an beliebiger Stelle als Dynastiengründer untergebracht wurden. Jedenfalls sind hier sehr verschiedenartige Quellen ohne richtige historische Tradition kompiliert worden. *Daraus ergibt sich, dass wir uns von der Königsliste vollständig emanzipieren müssen.* Höchstens, dass wir ihr noch ganz rohe Kenntnis der relativen Aufeinanderfolgen zutrauen, so dass z.B. ein Name, der sich in der 9. Dynastie findet, nicht vor die 3. zu setzen ist.¹²

A strong element of uncertainty concerning the value of the King List has unquestionably been introduced; for, although Landsberger may have stated the consequences more sharply than others, these consequences have been drawn in practice. In late years the study of the King List has come almost to a standstill, and its evidence is hardly ever used for purposes of chronology. But complete disregard of the King List and its evidence is not justifiable. It must be the purpose of further study to penetrate this general uncertainty and to define as far as possible just what is unreliable in the King List and what is not. The present essay represents an effort in this direction and endeavors to reach a clearer estimate of the historical value of this document by a study of the development of its text, the time of its composition, the sources used by its author, and the manner in which those sources were treated. We are here in many respects continuing lines of investigation suggested by other scholars, notably Weidner and Sidney Smith, but point in the main to new ways of approach. It is our hope that this essay will contribute to bringing the study of the King List out of the dead water in which it now lies.

¹² *OLZ* XXXIV 119; italics ours.

II

TEXTUAL PROBLEMS
THE INDIVIDUAL MANUSCRIPTS

The texts which are of importance for the study of the Sumerian King List are the following:

WB Ashmolean Museum 1923.444. Published by Langdon, *OECT* II, Pls. I-IV. Transliteration and translation with valuable notes on pp. 8-21.¹

WB begins with the rulers before the flood and continues with only minor gaps to Sin-magir of the dynasty of Isin. The provenience of the text is given as Larsa.^{1a} If we assume, as seems most probable, that the scribe carried his copy up to date, WB must have been written in the 11th year of Sin-magir; for the list ends with this ruler and assigns to him a reign of 11 years.² This dating is supported by the character of the writing, which can hardly be placed later than the middle of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.³

P₂ CBS 13981.⁴ Published by Poebel, *PBS* V, No. 2; photograph on Pl. XC. Transliteration and translation in Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 73-78.

The obverse of P₂ begins in the first half of the 1st dynasty of Kish and carries on with only small gaps to the end of the 1st dynasty of Ur. The reverse lists four kings of the Isin dynasty and has two valuable columns of summaries of the dynasties originally listed by the tablet. P₂ was found in Nippur by the Babylonian Expedition of the University

¹ Transliteration and translation of this source may be found also in Barton, *RISA*, pp. 346-55, and Deimel, *Die altabylonische Königsliste*, pp. 14-29.

^{1a} Langdon (*OECT* II 1) states that it was "written in Larsa." Deimel, *op. cit.* pp. 29 f., states that it comes from Kish. Is this a mistake?

² Cf. Langdon, *OECT* II 1 and esp. 21, n. 6: "The prism must have been written at the end of the reign of Sinmagir for Damik-ili-shu the last king is omitted."

³ WB uses consistently the forms 𒀭 and 𒀭 for DUMU and NAM. These forms became relatively rare already before Hammurabi. In documents of this ruler and later DUMU generally takes the form 𒀭 or 𒀭, and NAM is written 𒀭. Similarly WB uses 𒀭 for MU and 𒀭 for BI, forms which are not frequent after the 30th year of Hammurabi, when 𒀭 and 𒀭 or 𒀭 become the current forms. Lastly GA, which in WB takes the form 𒀭, is seldom written with more than two horizontal wedges after the reign of Hammurabi, when the forms 𒀭 and 𒀭 flourish.

⁴ See Legrain, *PBS* XIII 17.

of Pennsylvania. The text has been dated by Poebel to the 4th year of Enlil-bani.⁵

P₃ CBS 13994.⁶ Published by Poebel, *PBS* V, No. 3; photograph on Pl. XCI. Transliteration and translation in Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 78-80.

The obverse of P₃ covers—with two large gaps—the 1st dynasty of Kish and ends with the first king of the 1st dynasty of Uruk. The reverse has portions of the dynasties of Akshak and Agade. P₃ was found in Nippur by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. The date of the text cannot be determined with certainty. We may guess at approximately the middle of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.⁷

P₄ CBS 13293.⁸ Published by Poebel, *PBS* V, No. 4; photograph on Pl. XCI. Transliteration and translation in Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 80 f.

P₄ has on the obverse the summary of the 4th dynasty of Uruk and the beginning of the dynasty of Gutium. The reverse preserves remnants of a final summary. P₄ was found in Nippur by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Since the fragment is small, definite epigraphical clues to its date are lacking. The general character of the writing suggests, however, that it belongs in the period of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. Poebel assumes that it was written in the 23d year of Damiq-ilishu, but it is doubtful whether such close dating is possible.⁹

⁵ *PBS* IV 1, p. 98: ". . . the summary in Column 10 assigns to the dynasty of Isin only 11 kings and 159 years instead of 16 kings and 225 years, a fact which can be explained only on the assumption that the eleventh king of Isin was the ruling monarch when the list was drawn up. Figuring from the number of years given to the various kings of Isin in list No. 5, the first year of Enlil-bani, the eleventh king of Isin, was the 156th year of the kingdom of Isin, and it is thus clear that the list was finished in the fourth year of Enlil-bani." The writing on the tablet is in perfect accord with this dating.

⁶ See Legrain, *PBS* XIII 17.

⁷ Even the writing does not give a clue, as the indications are too vague. We have based our guess on the fact that such consistent use of the simple form \bowtie for MU as this ms. exhibits fits in better around the middle or toward the end of the dynasty than at the beginning, while the forms $\bowtie\bowtie$ and $\bowtie\bowtie$ for GA are relatively rare after the reign of Hammurabi.

⁸ See Legrain, *PBS* XIII 17.

⁹ Poebel arrives at this date (*PBS* IV 1, pp. 98 f. and 102 f.) by comparing the grand total of P₄, 139 kings in 32,243 years, x months, and 18(?) days, with that of P₂, 134 kings in 28,800(+x?) + 76 years, y months, and 21(?) days, and by explaining the surplus of kings and years as due to the fact that P₄ was written later than P₂. Having already dated P₃ to the 4th year of Enlil-bani, he can place P₄, which has 5 more kings than P₂, in the reign of the fifth king after Enlil-bani, Damiq-ilishu. The 3,367 years which P₄ has more than P₂ cannot, of course, be distributed among the five kings between Enlil-bani and Damiq-ilishu; but Poebel plausibly points out that the tens and units of the two totals 32,243

P₅ CBS 19797.¹⁰ Published by Poebel, *PBS* V, No. 5.¹¹ Transliteration and translation in Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 82 f.

The obverse of P₅ contains the middle part of the 1st dynasty of Kish; the reverse deals with the 3d dynasty of Ur and the dynasty of Isin. P₅ was found in Nippur by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. It may be dated from the character of the writing to the second half of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.¹²

P₆ CBS 15365.¹³ Only the reverse of this fragment has been published, and in transliteration and translation only, by Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 81.¹⁴

Col. i of the reverse has portions of a dynasty in which Sumu-abum—probably Sumu-abum of Babylon—occurs. Col. ii has remnants of a

and 28,800(+x?) + 76 have a better chance of being correct than the other parts of the figures, so that the original difference may have been 67 years, the difference between the tens and units of the two totals. This difference, 67 years, is—according to Poebel—exactly the distance in years from the 4th year of Enlil-bani to the last year of Damiq-ilishu, if we accept the evidence of P₁; i.e., the difference in the totals of years points to the same ruler as the difference in the totals of kings had already indicated. Poebel therefore concludes that P₄ was written in the 23d year of Damiq-ilishu.

It will easily be seen that the strength of this argument lies in the convergence of two independent lines of evidence upon the same reign. The difference in the number of kings points to Damiq-ilishu, and the difference in years also points to the reign of that ruler. However, as seen by Mrs. Ruth S. Brookens of the Editorial Department of the Oriental Institute, the difference of 67 years does not, as assumed by Poebel, correspond to the distance in years from the 4th year of Enlil-bani to the last year of Damiq-ilishu as given in P₆, for that distance (20+3+4+4+11+23) amounts to no more than 65 years. In other words, the 67 years which should represent the difference in date between the writing of P₂ and the writing of P₄ carry the latter beyond the reign of Damiq-ilishu, and there is thus no longer agreement between the evidence from the number of kings and that from the number of years. We must therefore accept Mrs. Brookens' conclusion that the evidence does not permit exact dating of the fragment.

¹⁰ See Legrain, *PBS* XIII 17.

¹¹ The reverse of the tablet had been published earlier by Hilprecht, *BE* XX 1 (1906) Pl. 30, No. 47; photographs of both obverse and reverse are given on his Pl. XV.

¹² To the latter half of the 1st dynasty point the forms  and  of BI and DA. That the text was written after Samsu-iluna is also shown, as Poebel has pointed out in *PBS* IV 1, p. 83, n. 5, by the fact that the divine name Irra is written with the determinative dingir.

¹³ See Legrain, *PBS* XIII 17 f. According to the information given there the tablet has now disappeared.

¹⁴ Hommel (in J. B. Nies, *Ur Dynasty Tablets*, p. 205), who claims to have been the first to identify the fragment ("des erst von mir in seiner Wichtigkeit erkannten und richtig eingereichten Fragments C.B.S. 15365"), states that the obverse is destroyed ("der abgetragene Obv. enthielt . . . Teile von Dyn. Kiš I und Uruk I").

dynasty summary.¹⁵ P₆ was found in Nippur by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Its date is unknown.

¹⁵ The identification of the dynasties listed on this fragment presents difficulties. Poebel, who published it, left the question open (*PBS* IV 1, p. 95). Hommel's suggestion (in Nies, *op. cit.* p. 205, n. 4) that col. i contains part of the dynasty of Isin and that the city name missing in col. ii should be restored as Akshak cannot be correct and has rightly been rejected by Legrain (*PBS* XIII 18). A definite solution of the problem can hardly be given until we get more material concerning the dynasties ruling in Babylonia in the Isin period, but we may at least offer a suggestion.

Col. i contains a list of rulers not known elsewhere:

[]	N.
4 [+ x	m u	i - a ₅]	reigned 4+x years.
di [r - r a -		d u m u]	Irra(?) - (less likely: divine Warad-), son of
u [r -]			Ur- ,
d u m u	n u - m u - [u n - t u k]		did not get a son;
6	m u	i - [a ₅]	he reigned 6 years.
s u - m u - a - b u - u [m]			Sumu-abum
i t u	8	i - a ₅	reigned 8 months.
[i - k] u - u n - p i (KA?) - i š t a r (e š - t a r ?)			Ikún-pt-Eshtar
[. . . .]	m u]	i - a ₅	reigned . . years.

Since the names so clearly belong in the Isin-Larsa period, we must assume that our list was written in a city which at that period had independent rulers and that the scribe added the local dynasty to his copy of the King List. This assumption is confirmed and the choice of city is narrowed down when we compare col. ii:

[]	[]
[SU-NIGIN . . lug a] 1		Total: . . kings	
[m] u - b i 125		its 125 years	
	i b - a ₅	reigned	
[a - r] á 6 - k a m		six times	
[š à . .]. k - a		in	
[SU-NIGIN . . lug a] 1		Total: . . kings	etc.,

for we find here a city which has been ruling city as many as six times. The classical edition of the King List knows only one city which comes up toward this figure, namely Uruk, which was ruling city five times; and from contemporaneous documents we know that Uruk actually did have independent kings during part of the Isin-Larsa period. If we assume therefore that it is the local dynasty of Uruk which is treated in col. i (the name of Sumu-abum might then stand for a short Babylonian domination), the total of six dynasties in col. ii becomes correct, inasmuch as the scribe had the five classical dynasties plus the local dynasty of the Isin-Larsa period to sum up.

One difficulty with this explanation must, however, be mentioned. The city name in col. ii appears as []. k - a. If the city name to be restored is actually Uruk, we should have expected []. k - g a (!), i.e., [u n] u^k - g a. Less important is the fact that the figure giving the total number of years for the six dynasties does not agree with what we might expect from the five known dynasties of Uruk plus a dynasty of the Isin-Larsa period, for it is obvious that the total is corrupt; 125 years is much too small a span of time for six dynasties.

L₁ CBS 14220. Published by Legrain, *PBS XIII*, No. 1.¹⁶ Transliteration and translation on pp. 25–28. A photograph of the text is published at the end of the volume on Pl. II.

The text of L₁ covers, with several large gaps, the period from the end of the 1st dynasty of Ur to the beginning of the Isin dynasty. L₁ was found in Nippur by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. It may be dated to approximately the first half of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.¹⁷

L₂ CBS 14223. Published by Legrain, *PBS XIII*, No. 2. Transliteration and translation on p. 24.

The obverse of L₂ lists three rulers of the 1st dynasty of Kish. The reverse of the fragment is uninscribed. L₂ was found in Nippur by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Its date is uncertain.

S BM 108857. Last published by Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad* (1921) Pls. 1–2.¹⁸ Transliteration and translation on pp. 3–7.

S begins with the dynasty of Akshak and carries on, with a gap in the middle of the Agade dynasty, to the end of the 4th dynasty of Uruk. The provenience of the tablet is unknown. The character of the writing suggests that it was written in the second half of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.¹⁹

¹⁶ The text consists of two fragments which join. Both fragments had been published earlier by Legrain, the first in *MJ XI* (1920) 175–80, the second in *MJ XII* (1921) 75–77. A transliteration and translation of the first fragment, made from the photograph in Legrain's article, was given by Gadd in *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, pp. 9–12. Cf. also the transliteration and translation given by Ugnad and Poebel in *ZA XXXIV* (1922) 2–8 and 14 and 39–42 respectively.

¹⁷ An upper date limit is represented by the reign of Ishmê-Dagân, who is mentioned in col. x, while the forms 𒂗 for GA and 𒂗 for BI and the consistent use of 𒂗 rather than 𒂗 for MU are rare in the latter half of the 1st dynasty of Babylon and thus suggest the middle of this dynasty as a likely lower limit.

¹⁸ The first publication of the tablet was by Scheil in *CR*, 1911, pp. 606–20. In *RA IX* (1912) 69 Scheil gave further results obtained when the tablet was cleaned and an excellent photograph. Thureau-Dangin also has published a copy of the tablet in *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, pp. 59 f.

¹⁹ The forms 𒂗 and 𒂗 for BI and GA respectively and the consistent use of 𒂗 rather than 𒂗 for MU point to the later part of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. Cf. Gadd, *op. cit.* p. 1, who dates the tablet merely to the 1st dynasty of Babylon.

Su₁ Published by Scheil in *RA* XXXI (1934) 150 f. Transliteration and translation on pp. 152–59.

Su₁ contains portions of the 1st dynasty of Kish (col. i), the 1st dynasty of Uruk (col. ii), the 2d dynasty of Ur (col. iv), the dynasties of Maeri and Akshak (col. v), the 4th dynasty of Kish and the 3d dynasty of Uruk (col. vi), the Agade dynasty (cols. vi–vii), the 4th dynasty of Uruk (col. vii), and the 3d dynasty of Ur and the dynasty of Isin (col. viii). The provenience of the text is Susa.²⁰ The writing suggests a date around the middle of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.²¹

Su₂ Published by Scheil in *RA* XXXI (1934) 160 as Fragment A. Transliteration and translation on pp. 159–61.

The obverse of the fragment contains portions of the 1st dynasty of Kish (cols. i–ii) and of the 1st dynasty of Uruk (col. iii). The reverse has not been published (prism?). The provenience of Su₂ is Susa.²² The writing suggests a date around the middle of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.²³

Su₃₊₄ Published by Scheil in *RA* XXXI (1934) 162 and 164 as Fragments B and C. Transliteration and translation on pp. 161–66. Only one side of each fragment has been published. The distribution of the text in cols. ii, iii, and iv of Fragment B when compared with that in cols. i, ii, and iii of Fragment C provides clear indications that these two fragments are parts of a single tablet (or prism?) severed by a break which destroyed two lines at its narrowest point. We are therefore treating these two fragments as parts of one text.²⁴

²⁰ Scheil in *RA* XXXI 149 and in *Mélanges Maspero I* (Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Mémoires" LXVI [Le Caire, 1934]) 393–400.

²¹ Comparison of the sign forms used in the Su texts with those found in contracts from Susa dated to the s u k k a l - m a b 's Shiruduh–Kutir–Nahhunte (*MDP* XXII–XXIV, the texts listed in *MDP* XXIV i–ii under rulers 2–7) and belonging approximately to the time of Warad–Sin, Rim–Sin, and Hammurabi shows close affinities, although those in Su₁, Su₂, and Su₃₊₄ seem to be slightly older. Note especially the forms GA *a*: , GA *b*: , iš: , LUGAL *a*: , and LUGAL *b*:  used in the Su texts. These forms are for the major part still to be found in the group of contracts mentioned (GA *b* in No. 62, later forms— etc.—in Nos. 200–201, 131, and 347; iš in Nos. 328, 200, and 376, later form with only two horizontal wedges in Nos. 131 and 347; LUGAL *b* in No. 347, slightly more simplified forms in Nos. 131, 202, and 376) but are in the process of disappearing there.

²² Scheil in *RA* XXXI 149 ff.

²³ See n. 21 above.

²⁴ If we place the two fragments so that the beginning of col. ii in Fragment C is exactly two lines below the end of col. iii in Fragment B, as required by the context, then the gaps

Su_{3+4} contains portions of the 2d dynasty of Uruk (col. i), the 3d and 4th dynasties of Kish (col. ii), the 3d dynasty of Uruk (col. ii), the dynasty of Agade (col. iii), the 4th dynasty of Uruk (col. iii), the dynasty of Gutium (cols. iii-iv), the 5th dynasty of Uruk (col. iv), and the 3d dynasty of Ur (col. iv). The provenience of Su_{3+4} is Susa.²⁵ The writing suggests a date around the middle of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.²⁶

K K 8532+K 8533+K 8534. Published by L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings* II ("Studies in Eastern History" III [London, 1907]) 143-45. Transliteration and translation on pp. 46-56. An improved transliteration and translation of the first part of the text was made by Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 84.

The fragment starts with the antediluvian kings and ends with Mârbîti-apal-ûşur. Of the older sections hardly anything is preserved except a few names belonging to the 1st dynasty of Kish. The provenience of the tablet is, as shown by the museum number, Kuyunjik. It is Late Assyrian.

between col. ii of B and col. i of C and between col. iv of B and col. iii of C will fit exactly the number of lines which the King List has at these places:

	Col. II	Col. III	Col. IV
10	[p ₁ ū] z u r - d s i n		
	[d u m u] k ₁ u - d b a - b a ₅	10 i - m i lug al	7 u n u g ^{k₁} - à [m ₁]
25	[m u] i - a ₅	i - l u - l u lug al	[d ₁ ū] t u - b ₆ - g a l l
	[u r - i z a - b a ₄ - b a ₄]	[4] lug al	[l u g a l] a m l
	[d u m u] p u z u r - d s i n]	[m u - b i] 3 m u i - a ₅	10 [m u] i t u 6 u 15 i - a ₅
15	[400] m u i - a ₅	177 m u	[l l u g a l] i
	s i - m u - d a r	i - a ₅	[m u - b i] m u 7 l
30	[30] m u i - a ₅		i t u 6 u 15 i - a ₅
	[l u - s i - w a] - t a r	a - g a - d è k i	u n u g ^{k₁} s i s t u k u l b a - s i g l
	[7] m u i - a ₅	s i s t u k u l b a - s i g	15 n a m - [l u g a l - b i]

To make such a restoration with fragments belonging to different tablets or prisms would be possible only if the two tablets were exact duplicates, following each other line for line and spacing the lines exactly alike on the columns. Such close correspondence is in itself unlikely (one such rare case is that of WB and J; see p. 49). It may be ruled out altogether in the present instance, for a glance at the fragments will suffice to show that the spacing of the lines is so haphazard and varied that it can have been guided only by chance and the immediate convenience of the scribe.

²⁵ Scheil in *RA* XXXI 149 ff.

²⁶ See n. 21 above.

G Published by H. de Genouillac, *Fouilles françaises d'el-Akhymer. Premières recherches archéologiques à Kich II* (Paris, 1925) Pl. 21, C. 112.

G, a fairly small fragment, preserves remnants of two columns. The one to the left (vii) deals with the beginning of the Gutian dynasty, that to the right (vi) with the beginning of the dynasty of Akshak.²⁷ The obverse (wrongly called "reverse"!) is destroyed. The fragment was found in the French excavations at Kish and may be dated, from the general character of the writing, to the second half of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.

J Unpublished fragment in the collection of the writer.²⁸

²⁷ The fragment may be restored as follows:

Col. vii	Col. vi
[k i - s u - l u - u b ₄ - g a r	g u - t i - u m ^{k1}]
[l u g a l	m u] 'n u - t u k ¹
[i m - t a - a l u g a l - à m	3 m] u ı - a ₆
[i n - k i - š u š	6 m] u ı - a ₆
[s a (?) - a r l a - g a b	6] m u ı - 'a ₆ ¹
[š u l - m e -]	6 m[u ı - a ₆]
[e - l u - l u - m e - e š]	7 m[u ı - a ₆]
[i - n i - m a - b a - k i - e] š	5 [m u ı - a ₆]
[i - g e - e š - a - u] š	[6 ¹] [m u ı - a ₆]
	u ₄ - k u š ú ^{k1} - a u[n - z i l u g a l - à m
	30 m u ı - a ₆
	[12 m u ı - a ₆]
	[6 m u ı - a ₆]
	p ú z u r - d n i [r a b
	'i - š u - i l ¹
	[24 m u ı - a ₆]
	l
	etc.

²⁸ See plate at end. The text reads:

OBV.

[k i s u lu u b ₄ - g a r]	
	g u - t i - u m ^{k1}
[s ⁱⁱ] t u k u l ¹	ba - s i g
[n a m]	- lu gal - bi
[u n u g] ^{k11} - s ₂ è	ba - t ú m
5 [u n u] ^{k11} - g a	^d u tu - h é - g á l
[lu gal] ₁ - à m mu 7 [i tu] ₁ 6 u ₄ [15 l - a ₅]	
	1 lu gal
[m u - b i 7] i tu 6 u ₄ 15 l - 'a ₅]	
[u n u g] ^{k11} [s ⁱⁱ] t u k u l ¹ [b] a - s i g	

Rev.

[i - b̥ i -]^[d̥] [s̥ i n̥]
 dum u ū ū ^[d̥] [s̥ i n̥ - k e]
 mu 24 ^[i] - _[a]
 5 lu [g a l]
 5 [m] u - b i [. i b - a]
 [u] r f̥ k̥ i - m a ^[g̥ i] k u k u l b a l - s i g̥
 [n] a m - ^[q] u g a l - b i
 [l] - s i - i n k̥ i - š e b a t ú m

The host of
Gutium
was smitten with weapons;
its kingship
was carried to Uruk.
In Uruk Utu-hegal
became king and reigned 7 years, 6 months,
and 15 days.
1 king
reigned its 7 years, 6 months, and 15 days.
Uruk was smitten with weapons.

The obverse deals with the fall of Gutium and with Utu-hegal, the reverse with the end of the 3d dynasty of Ur. The provenience of the fragment is unknown.²⁹ The character of the writing suggests a date around the middle of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.³⁰

DERIVATION FROM A SINGLE ORIGINAL

A comparison of the texts listed above will show extensive and detailed agreement between them both in form and in content. The names of the rulers, their mutual order, the distribution of the names over the dynasties, and the order in which the dynasties appear are virtually the same in all the texts. A similar fundamental agreement is found in the figures given for the reigns of the single rulers and for the duration of the various dynasties. Finally, the short historical or genealogical notes which occasionally are found added to a name appear, whenever they can be traced, at the same places and with practically the same wording.

Agreement so extensive and detailed as this is unthinkable except between texts derived from a common source. A single example will suffice to illustrate the point. The section dealing with Sargon of Agade is preserved in three of our texts, WB, L₁, and S. It takes the form: "Sargon—his . . . was a date-grower—cupbearer of Ur-Zababa(k), king of Agade, the one who built Agade (var.: 'the one under whom Agade was built'), became king." In all the texts this entry differs from those which precede and follow it by giving a certain amount of historical information. If, now, these three texts were completely independent of one another we would obviously have to assume (1) that three different scribes had all independently decided to elaborate this particular passage with historical information; (2) that it had independently occurred to each of them to mention Sargon's origin, his position in life before he became king, and his founding of Agade, but not any of his political and military achievements; and finally (3) that all three happened to couch this information in exactly the same words and to arrange the facts in exactly the same order. Such an assumption is obviously absurd. The three texts cannot be independent; and on the basis of this and numerous similar instances we can with ab-

²⁹ The fragment was bought in Baghdad in 1933 together with a small collection of odd fragments. The dealer could give no information concerning where it came from, as it had been in his possession a long time.

³⁰ It corresponds in almost every particular to that of WB and cannot be far from that text in date.

solute certainty draw the conclusion that our texts are related, that they ultimately descend from a common original.³¹

The next step must then be an investigation of the manner in which the texts are related and how each of them derives from the original. In other words, we must establish the genealogy of our manuscripts.

GENEALOGY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

THE POSTDILUVIAN SECTION

The genealogy of versions derived from a common original has to be determined through a study of textual variants and their distribution among the versions. But our manuscripts of the King List give opportunity for such study only to a very limited degree. The majority are small fragments. It is therefore relatively seldom that many of them overlap, and passages common to several versions, where we might observe the spread of variants, are few. This scarcity of material is to some extent remedied by the fact that most of the fragments, even the smaller ones, preserve examples of the formulas used for single kings, dynasty totals, and changes of dynasty, making it possible to compare parallel passages in versions which do not actually overlap. Even so, however, the material must be considered meager. It is obvious that we cannot hope to establish the pedigree of our versions in any great detail but must content ourselves with determining some of its more prominent lines.

EVIDENCE FROM THE PRINCIPAL VARIANTS

The sections in which we have relatively many manuscripts overlapping so that we can study the distribution of variants over a fairly large number of versions are two, namely (1) the middle of the 1st dynasty of Kish and (2) the dynasty of Agade. In addition we can make use of the evidence obtainable from a study of the formulas for single rulers, dynasty totals, and changes of dynasty and also of some overlaps of more limited scope, for example the varia-

³¹ The view which we have stated here (see also *Acta Orientalia* V [1927] 302), that our texts are copies, or copies of copies, of a single original document, seems to be generally held by scholars, if one may judge from such expressions as "the King List" and "duplicates" used of the various texts concerned. But, since few have paid special attention to the question, statements of a definite character are rare. We have found only two: Sidney Smith, *EHA*, pp. 29 f.: "Where these fragments can be compared, they agree save for trivial differences in spelling and in the figures assigned to the different reigns; there can be no doubt that they all depend upon one original source Where there are discrepancies in the lists they arise partly from scribal errors, possibly due to writing from dictation, partly from omissions. It is justifiable to assume that the original wording of the source, the first list, can be inferred from the extant fragments," and L. W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt*, p. 28, n. 1: "The fragments belong to separate copies of the Sumerian dynastic record." But already on p. 30 King refers to the copyist who wrote *P₄* as "the compiler of one of our new lists"!

tion in the position of the 3d dynasty of Kish (Ku(g)-Baba). We may begin the investigation with the variants in the 1st dynasty of Kish. These form a group which from its salient feature may be named the "Atabba variants."

THE ATABBA VARIANTS

The middle part of the 1st dynasty of Kish is preserved in five of our manuscripts: WB, P₂, P₃, P₅, and Su₁. It takes the forms shown on page 16.³²

Comparing these versions, we see that the last four, P₂, P₃, P₅, and Su₁, are very much alike. The small variations which occur are easy to account for, and the original form of the text can be established with confidence. It must have been

1 g a - l i - b u - u m	6 840 m u i - a ₅	10 900 m u i - a ₅
2 900 m u i - a ₅	7 k a - l u - m u - u m	11 a r - w i - ú - u m
3 á - b a	8 900 m u i - a ₅	12 d u m u m a š - d à - k e ₄
4 [] m u i - a ₅	9 z u - g a - g i ₄ - i p	13 720 m u i - a ₅
5 á - t a b - b a		

We arrive at this text through the following considerations:

Lines 1-2.—As far as they are preserved all four sources agree on these lines, which must accordingly have appeared thus in the original.

Lines 3-4.—P₃ reads [á -] b a [] m u i - a₅. P₂ has the same name, 'á - b a', but leaves the line giving his reign blank. P₅ also has the name á - 'b a', but the rest of the line is so damaged that we cannot decide what form it took. Su₁, finally, omits both lines. The origin of these variations is clear. P₃ obviously preserves the original text, which gave both name and reign. P₂ was copied from a tablet in which the line giving the reign had been damaged, just as is now the case with P₅. The copyist therefore left that line blank. Su₁ derives from a version in which both lines had been damaged and which was copied without indication that a lacuna existed in that place.

Lines 5-6.—These lines present a very similar picture. P₃ reads 'á - t a b - b a 84⁰ m u i - a₅. P₂, P₅, and Su₁ also have this name (in Su₁ only its first sign remains); but the line which gives the reign is destroyed in P₅,

³² For details of readings see the notes to this section in our edition of the King List (pp. 78-81). In this particular discussion we have, to make comparison easier, adopted a uniform distribution of the text in lines for all the manuscripts; and in order to make orthographical differences between the versions stand out clearly we have here kept closer to the classical values of the signs than elsewhere. We thus transcribe g a - l u - m u - u m instead of q á - l u - m u - u m, k a - l u - m u - u m instead of q á - l u - m u - u m, to make the differences in the writing more evident, and so on; but we do not go so far as to write k a - g a - g i₄ - i p rather than z ú - g a - g i₄ - i p to distinguish it from z u - g a - g i₄ - i p. The variation between m u x and x m u in the formula for introducing single rulers is discussed in the section "Variants in the Formulas" (pp. 28 ff.); it does not concern us here.

WB	P ₂	P ₃	P ₄
g a - l i - b u - u m ³³	[g a - l i - b] b u - u m	[g a - l i - b] u - u m	[g a' - l i' - [b u - u m]
m u 900 i - a ₅	[900] m u i - [a ₅ ']	[900] m u i - a ₅	9[0]0 [m u i - a ₅ ']
k a - l u - m u	k a - b a'	[k a -] b a	{ om.
m u 840 i - a ₅	[] m u i - [a ₅ ']	[] m u i - [a ₅ ']	
5 z ú - g a - g i ₄ - i p	[a'] - t a b - b a	[a'] - t a b - b a	[a - t a b - b a]
m u 900 i - a ₅	840' m u i - a ₅	840' m u i - a ₅	720 [m u i - a ₅]
á - t a b	[k a -] l u - m u - u m - e	g a - l u - [m u] - u m'	k a - l u - m u - u m
m u 600 i - a ₅	[900] m u i - a ₅	900 m [u i - a ₅]	[m u 900 i - a ₅]
á - t a b - b a	[z] u - g a - g i ₄ - i p - e	z u - g a - g i ₄ [- i p]	z u - g a - k i - i p
10 m u 840 i - a ₅	[900] m u i - a ₅	[900] m u i - [a ₅]	[m u 900 i - a ₅]
a r - w i - ú - u m	a r - w i	[a r'] - b u - u m	a r - w i - ú
d u m u m a š - d à - k e ₄ ³⁴ d u m u m a š - d à - k e ₄	[720] m u i - a ₅	[d u m u m a š - d à - k e ₄ d u m u m a š - d à - k e ₄]	[a r] - w i - u m
m u 720 i - a ₅	[720] m u i - a ₅	[m u 720 i - a ₅]	[720 m u i - a ₅]

³³ Spaced roman has been used for Sumerian, italics for Akkadian. Where an Akkadian name occurs in Sumerian context, however, it has been treated as a Sumerian 'word' and vice versa, just as we would not ordinarily italicize foreign names in English context.

³⁴ On the reading - k e₄ rather than - g e see S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerian Prefix Forms b - and bi - in the Time of the Earlier Princes of Lagash (AS No. 8 [1936])* p. 8, § 2, and n. 95.

P_2 leaves it blank, and Su_1 reads 720 [m u i - a₅]. Of the figures given by P_3 and Su_1 it is clear that the 840 of P_3 has the better chance of being original; for while it is easy to see how ٨٤٠ (840) passing through a damaged form ٨٤٠ can become ٧٢٠ (720) in a later copy, the opposite development is improbable. The blank in P_2 indicates, as we saw above, that the scribe copied from a tablet in which this line had been destroyed.

Lines 7-10.—All four manuscripts give much the same text, which must accordingly represent that of the original. Doubt might arise as to whether the name Qalūmu(m) was written with g a - (P_3), k a - (P_5), or q a - (Su_1) in the original, whether this and the following name Zuqaqīp had originally the subject - e which they take in P_2 but not in the others, and whether Zuqaqīp was written with g i₄ as in P_2 , P_3 , and Su_1 or with k i as in P_5 . These questions are, however, of minor importance for the time being and may be decided arbitrarily. Of more interest is the difference in line 10, where P_2 and P_3 have the figure 900, whereas Su_1 has 600. Of these 900 must be original, for ٩٠٠ (900) can easily become ٦ (600) by passing through a damaged form ٩٠٠, but there is no way which leads from 600 to 900.

Line 11.—There are four different forms: a r - w i (P_2), [a r] - b u - u m (P_3), a r - w i - ú (P_5), and [a r] - w i - u m (Su_1). Arwi^{um} means "male gazelle" and therefore goes with other animal names in this section,³⁵ for example Qalūmu(m), "lamb," and Kalibum, "dog." The most correct writing of Arwi^{um} would be a r - w i - ú - u m, and from such a form all our variants can be effortlessly derived: a r - w i - ú, a r - w i, and a r - w i - u m through simple omissions of lost signs by scribes copying damaged originals, and a r - b u - u m through misreading of a damaged form ٢٠٠ of ٢٠ (w i) as ٢٠ (b u) and omission of a lost ú or through a mishearing in dictation after Arwi^{um} had been contracted to Arwūm (Arwi^{um} > Arwūum > Arwūm).

Lines 12-13.—Only one point could give rise to doubt as to how these lines read in the original. This is the form d u m u m a š - EN - d à - k e₄ in P_3 as against d u m u m a š - d à - k e₄ in all the others. M a š - d à can mean both "gazelle" and *muškīnum*, "plebeian," whereas m a š - EN - d à means only *muškīnum*.³⁶ The scribe of P_3 or of one of its ancestors must have con-

³⁵ On these names cf. Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 111; Landsberger quoted by Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III (1924) 30, n. 8; Albright in *AOF* III (1926) 181; and Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII (1934) 5. Langdon rejects for no reason the reading z ú - q á - q i₄ - i p and proposes d ú g - g a - g i₁ - i b (*OECT* II 10, n. 7).

³⁶ *Muškīnum*, "plebeian," is a III/II participle of **kašānum* and means originally "one who prostrates himself." This servile type of greeting would be characteristic for the lower part of the population and could therefore be used as a designation of class: "plebeian." From Old Akkadian, where the word must have had the form **muškānum* (cf. the Sar-

sidered it more likely that the king was son of a plebeian than son of a gazelle and have introduced the unequivocal form *maš-EN-dà*. In reality, however, the fact that the king's name, *Arwi^{um}*, means "male gazelle" and that other names of the dynasty are animal names makes it quite clear that *maš-dà*, "gazelle," is the original form.³⁷

If we now compare the prototype of *P₂*, *P₃*, *P₅*, and *Su₁* at which we have just arrived—we may call it "B"—with the text of *WB*, which we may call "A," we shall notice a number of very striking differences:

A	B
g a - l i - b u - u m	g a - l i - b u - u m
m u 960 i - a ₅	900 m u i - a ₅
k a - l u - m u	á - b a
m u 840 i - a ₅	[] m u i - a ₅
z ú - g a - g i ₄ - i p	á - t a b - b a
m u 900 i - a ₅	840 m u i - a ₅
á - t a b	k a - l u - m u - u m
m u 600 i - a ₅	900 m u i - a ₅
á - t a b - b a	z u - g a - g i ₄ - i p
m u 840 i - a ₅	900 m u i - a ₅
a r - w i - ú - u m	a r - w i - ú - u m
d u m u m a š - d à - k e ₄	d u m u m a š - d à - k e ₄
m u 720 i - a ₅	720 m u i - a ₅

gon passage in *Leegrain, PBS XV*, No. 41 vi 24-26: *a-na ḫda-gan uš-kà-en*), *muškinum* seems to have passed into Sumerian; for in the pseudo-ideogram *MAŠ-EN-KAK* we may recognize an *e m e - SAL* form of **muška-en*: *maš-dà-en* (i.e., *mašda^en*). Transposition of signs, as here of *EN* and *KAK* (= *dà*), is a common feature in pseudo-ideograms, which are merely traditional orthographies inherited from the time before the signs had to be written in correct order. Similar cases are *EN-ZU* for *z u - e n*, *ZU-AB* for *a b - z u*, etc. The assimilation of the *u* to the following *a* in **muška-en > mašda^en* is a common feature in Sumerian (see p. 171, n. 7a) and harmonizes with the well known preference for *a* in *e m e - SAL* (cf. Poebel in *ZA* n.F. III [1926/27] 259 and 270). For the development from *k* to *d* cf. Poebel, *GSG* § 80.

³⁷ That the author of the King List did not intend to state that *Arwi^{um}* was the son of a plebeian is also clear from the form which the statement takes. When the author wants to give information concerning the social status of the father of a king, he uses a set formula which is quite different, namely *N. a b - b a - n i x*. Cf. *ḡilgámes a b - b a - n i l i l - i a*, "Gilgames—his father was a *lillu*-demon," and *šar - r u - k i - i n . . . - b a - n i n u - g i r i*₁₂, "Sargon—his . . . was a date-grower." We should therefore have had *a r - w i - ú - u m a b - b a - n i m a š - d à*, "Arwi^{um}—his father was a plebeian," and not *a r - w i - ú - u m d u m u m a š - d à*, "Arwi^{um}, son of *maš-dà*." The correct interpretation of *maš-dà* as a name meaning "gazelle" was suggested as a possibility already by Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 111, but has hitherto only been accepted by Albright (*JAOS* XL [1920] 329; *AOF* III [1926] 181); by Landsberger (see Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III [1924] 30, n. 8; Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie H.A.R-ra = ḫubullu* [Leipzig, 1934] p. 100), who first pointed out that *Arwi^{um} = arma*, "male gazelle"; and by Gütterbock (*ZA* n.F. VIII [1934] 3 and 5).

It will be seen first of all that whereas A lists the two rulers á - t a b and á - t a b - b a between Zuqaqīp and Arwi^{um}, B places them, as á - b a and á - t a b - b a , between Kalibum and Qalūmu(m). In A, further, Kalibum is listed with a reign of 960 years, while B gives him only 900; and Qalūmu(m), who according to A reigned 840 years, reigned 900 years according to B.

To decide which of these two texts represents the original text the more faithfully we must consider the differences one by one. Little information is—a priori—to be gained from the variant forms á - t a b (A) and á - b a (B). It seems likely that one of these forms originated through influence from the following name á - t a b - b a , but whether a copyist, having written á - , continued with - b a instead of - t a b because his eye fell upon the final - b a in the next name, or whether his original had á - b a and he copied it as á - t a b because by mistake he looked at á - t a b of the following á - t a b - b a obviously cannot be safely decided at this point.

A similar case is presented by the varying figure for the reign of Qalūmu(m), which is 840 in A and 900 in B. These figures are written ፩፭ and ፩፮. Any copyist knows how difficult it can be to read a figure like this if the surface of the text is the least bit scratched or damaged, for ፩፭ may equally well represent either one. An uncertain form like this is probably responsible for our variant. But whether an original ፩፭ through such a form became ፩፮ or vice versa remains uncertain.

More helpful are the variants in the reign of Kalibum, which lasted 960 years according to A and 900 according to B, and in the order of the rulers, which is as follows in the two texts:

A	B
Kalibum	Kalibum
Qalūmu(m)	Aba
Zuqaqīp	Atabba
Atab	Qalūmu(m)
Atabba	Zuqaqīp
Arwi ^{um}	Arwi ^{um}

Here also, it is true, we must admit that the differences might have arisen in various ways. But among the possible solutions one stands out as definitely the most probable because it is so much more simple than the others. If we assume the text presented by A to be original, a single scribal mistake of a well known type will lead directly to the arrangement of rulers given by B, and that mistake will at the same time account for the 900 years which B ascribes to Kalibum in contrast to the 960 found in A. The scribal mistake

with which we are concerned would have happened as follows: Having copied the line *g a - lí - b u - u m*, the scribe jumped four lines of his original and continued with the line after *Zuqaqip*, *m u 900 i - a₅*, misled, no doubt, by the close similarity between this line and the one he should have copied, *m u 960 i - a₅*.³⁸ He did not realize the mistake but went on copying the lines dealing with Atab and Atabba:

Original	Copy
<i>g a - lí - b u - u m</i>	<i>g a - lí - b u - u m</i>
<i>m u 960 i - a₅</i>	
<i>k a - l u - m u</i>	
<i>m u 840 i - a₅</i>	
<i>z ú - g a - g i₄ - i p</i>	
<i>m u 900 i - a₅</i>	<i>m u 900 i - a₅</i>
<i>á - t a b</i>	<i>á - t a b</i>
<i>m u 600 i - a₅</i>	<i>m u 600 i - a₅</i>
<i>á - t a b - b a</i>	<i>á - t a b - b a</i>
<i>m u 840 i - a₅</i>	<i>m u 840 i - a₅</i>
<i>a r - w i - ú - u m</i>
<i>d u m u m a š - d à - k e₄</i>	
<i>m u 720 i - a₅</i>	

When the scribe had copied the line *m u 840 i - a₅*, however, and looked back upon his original to find the continuation, his eye was arrested by the identical figure, 840, in the line which gave the years of *Qalūmu(m)*, and he discovered his omission. Rather than rewrite what he had already copied, he took the easy course of inserting the two rulers he had missed at the point to which he had come when he discovered the mistake. He thus got a list

<i>g a - lí - b u - u m</i>
<i>m u 900 i - a₅</i>
<i>á - t a b</i>
<i>m u 600 i - a₅</i>
<i>á - t a b - b a</i>
<i>m u 840 i - a₅</i>
<i>k a - l u - m u</i>
<i>m u 840 i - a₅</i>
<i>z ú - g a - g i₄ - i p</i>
<i>m u 900 i - a₅</i>
<i>a r - w i - ú - u m</i>
<i>d u m u m a š - d à - k e₄</i>
<i>m u 720 i - a₅</i>

³⁸ Cf. the exactly similar mistake in the Agade section discussed on p. 27.

which has the rulers in the exact order in which they appear in B and which like B gives Kalibum a reign of 900 years instead of 960.

A single scribal mistake is thus sufficient to explain the two most conspicuous characteristics of B. The explanation works only one way, however, from A to B, and experiments will show that repeated and complicated errors must be assumed if we want to account for the opposite development, from B to A. Our evidence points accordingly to A as the better form of the text.

The conclusion that A is closer to the original than B is based upon the inherent probability of the most simple solution. That principle is not, however, altogether without exceptions. It happens, although rarely, that events do not follow the most probable course, and our argument is thus not absolutely decisive. It is therefore fortunate that we possess confirmatory evidence which settles the question beyond possibility of doubt.

In both of our versions occur the lines *a r - w i - ú - u m d u m u m a š - d à - k e₄*. There is here a slight irregularity because the Mashda mentioned as father of Arwi^{um} is otherwise completely unknown. There are naturally many cases in the list where the father of a king is mentioned, but the father has then as a rule been king himself and appeared higher up in the list.³⁹ That Mashda has not similarly appeared before therefore suggests that the list as we have it is incomplete and that a king Mashda has been left out just before the Arwi^{um} passage.

Examining our two versions we see that B, which deals with the reign of Zuqaqip just before Arwi^{um}, shows no trace whatsoever of a missing ruler at this place. In version A, however, the case is different. Here Arwi^{um} is preceded by the two rulers *á - t a b* and *á - t a b - b a*, and it cannot but strike us that the latter of these names, Atabba, is nothing but the genitive case *A t a b b - a (k)* of the former, Atab. How does the list come to record as different rulers two forms of the same name? A glance through the list itself will give us the explanation, for we find numerous passages in which—as with Atab and Atabba—the same name appears twice in close succession, the second time in the genitive. Such passages are those in which a king is

³⁹ In the 33 other cases in which we have the formula *N. d u m u P.* there is only one where the father has not appeared earlier as ruler. This one case is highly exceptional and explains itself. It is [*m e s - k i*] - *á g - g a - [s e - r] d u m u d u t u*, "Mes-kiag-gasher, son of Utu (the sun-god)." Obviously the author could not well enter the sun-god himself as king of Uruk in his list.

Of no importance—and therefore not included in our statistics—is the fact that *P₂* has after Ur-Ninurta(k) an extra line not found in WB: *d u m u ^{lā}IM []*; for we cannot draw safe conclusions about the principles of the original from the latest parts of the list, which are additions by later scribes.

stated to be the son of his predecessor: "A reigned x years; B, son of A, reigned y years."

If on the strength of this analogy we assume that the present text of A derives from a slightly broken original through the succession

Original	>	Copy	>	A
á - t a b		á - t a b		á - t a b
m u 600 i - a ₅		m u 600 i - a ₅		m u 600 i - a ₅
[N. d u m u] á - t a b - b a			á - t a b - b a	á - t a b - b a
m u 840 i - a ₅		m u 840 i - a ₅		m u 840 i - a ₅

the repetition of Atab as Atabba will be satisfactorily explained.

This result is of considerable interest. We have just seen that the passage a r - w i - ú - u m d u m u m a š - d à - k e₄ suggested that a ruler's name was missing immediately before it. Now we find that another feature of the list, the absurd reappearance of the name Atab in the genitive form, is explicable on that very supposition only; and in both cases the same point in the text, the line before Arwi^{um}, is indicated. This cannot be coincidence, and we may accordingly restore the original form of the passage as follows:

á - t a b
m u 600 i - a ₅
m a š - d à d u m u á - t a b - b a
m u 840 i - a ₅
a r - w i - ú - u m d u m u m a š - d à - k e ₄
m u 720 i - a ₅

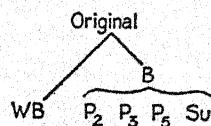
We may now consider the question whether version A or version B has preserved the more nearly original text in the light of these new facts. In A we have just found a number of indications grouped so that they form an organic and logical whole and point to a single conclusion. In B these same indications are scattered, do not form any pattern, may even be unrecognizable; the tell-tale relationship of the names Atab and Atabba is blurred; the names appear as Aba, Atabba and are separated from the Arwi^{um} passage by two other rulers.

This difference between the two versions can mean only one thing: A has preserved the original text. Here the traces left by the omission of the name Mashda are still undisturbed and easy to read, while in B time has scattered and partly obliterated them. To reverse the process and assume that B represents the original text is impossible. This would mean that the whole group of indications in A would be due to coincidence. The existence of the Arwi^{um} passage, which suggests that a ruler is missing, would be a coincidence. By coincidence the name á - b a would have been changed so that it became the nominative of the following Atabba and could convey the same suggestion,

that a ruler was missing. Finally, coincidence would have caused a copyist to move two names en bloc from their place in the list and insert them at the one place where the suggestion which they conveyed in their new form and that conveyed by the *Arwi^{um}* passage could be brought to bear on the same line of the text. Such a series of extraordinary coincidences can safely be ruled out. We can therefore consider it proved that in this section A has preserved the original form of the text, at least as far as the arrangement of the rulers, the names Atab and Atabba, and related variants are concerned.

This result is of considerable importance for ascertaining the mutual relationships of our manuscripts. The version which we have called B is represented by no less than four sources: *P₂*, *P₃*, *P₅*, and *Su₁*. Some of the most prominent characteristics of this version have proved to be due to mistakes in copying. Version A, on the other hand, represented by only a single source, WB, is free of these errors. WB must accordingly have descended from the original by another route than *P₂*, *P₃*, *P₅*, and *Su₁*, a route which avoided the text in which the errors were made. The possibility that WB belongs to the same line of descent as the B texts but should be placed above the text in which the errors were made is excluded by the fact that our manuscripts are roughly contemporaneous and that one of the B texts seems to be even older than WB.⁴⁰

We can therefore draw up the following elementary pedigree:



B represents here the copy or consecutive series of copies in which the errors common to *P₂*, *P₃*, *P₅*, and *Su₁* were first made. The brace is meant to indicate that the sources placed under it all derive from the original through a common ancestor but that the exact way in which they descend from that ancestor is unknown. *P₂*, *P₃*, *P₅*, and *Su₁* may thus have descended from B each in a direct line, or one may have descended from another and that again from B, etc.

VARIANTS IN THE REIGNS OF THE AGADE RULERS

To a division of our sources very similar to that indicated by the Atabba variants points a group of variants in the reigns of the Agade kings. The fig-

⁴⁰ *P₂*, which dates from the 4th year of Enlil-bani (p. 6, n. 5).

ures for single reigns and dynasty totals preserved in the various manuscripts are as follows:

	WB	L ₁	P ₃	P ₂	S	S ₁	S ₂₊₄
Sharru(m)-kīn	56	55	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Rīmush	9	15	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Man-ishtushu	15	7	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
Narām-Sīn	[]	56	[5]6	[]	[]	[]	[]
Shar-kali-sharrī	[]	25	24	[]	[]	[]	25
				[1]57			
Igigi, Nanum, Imi, and Elulu	[]	[]	3	[]	3	[]	[]
Dudu	21	[]	[]	[]	21	Years 161	177
Shū-Durul	15	[]	[]	[]	15	Kings 9 ¹	9 ¹
	Years 181	[]	[]	[1]97	197		
	Kings 11	[]	[]	[]	12		

It will be noted that the totals given in P₃, P₂, and S correspond to the figures for the single reigns preserved in L₁ and S in such a way that these lists can be restored with full confidence⁴¹ as

	L ₁	P ₃	P ₂	S
Sharru(m)-kīn	55	[55]	[55]	[55]
Rīmush	15	[15]	[15]	[15]
Man-ishtushu	7	[7]	[7]	[7]
Narām-Sīn	56	[5]6	[56]	[56]
Shar-kali-sharrī	25	24	[25]	[25]
	[1]57			
Igigi, Nanum, Imi, and Elulu	[3]	3	[3]	3
Dudu	[21]	[21]	[21]	21
Shū-Durul	[15]	[15]	[15]	15
	Years [197]	[196]	[1]97	197
	Kings [11]	[11]	[11]	12

⁴¹ The high degree of certainty which the interplay of totals and single figures gives may be illustrated by an example. S has preserved the reigns of the second part of the dynasty and the total 197 years. L₁ has the reigns of the first part. Added to each other these single reigns make exactly the total 197 years, and the single reigns missing in S can therefore be restored from the figures in L₁. It is obvious that even if we restored S with figures different from those of L₁ the sum of these different figures would have to be the same as that of the figures of L₁, for when we insert the figures of L₁ the total is correct. Furthermore, any differences between the individual figures which we restore in S and the figures of L₁ could only have come about by scribal errors in S or L₁ or both, since a true rendering of the

The lists are very much alike. Only two points need comment: (1) the figure for the reign of Shar-kali-sharri, which is 25 in L_1 and must have been 25 in P_2 and S also, whereas it is 24 in P_3 ; and (2) the curious summary in S giving 12 kings, although we know only 11 kings of the dynasty. The first of these points, the different figures for Shar-kali-sharri, must be explained as a copyist's mistake, but whether 24 became 25 or vice versa cannot be safely determined.⁴² As for the second, it seems probable, as suggested by various scholars,⁴³ that a scribe counted the line after Shar-kali-sharri, a b a m l u g a l a b a m n u l u g a l, as a king when he added up.

A second group of sources is formed by Su_1 and Su_{3+4} . Su_1 preserves a total for the dynasty of 161 years and ፭ kings. This total, 161 years, is the sum of the first nine reigns of the dynasty as we know them from L_1 and S , and the broken figure ፭ can be restored as ፭ (9). We can therefore conclude that Su_1 had the same figures as L_1 and S but stopped its account of the Agade dynasty with the ninth king, Elulu. The text Su_{3+4} also stops its account of the Agade dynasty here,⁴⁴ and the broken figure ፭ for the number of kings, in col. iii 14, can similarly be restored as ፭ (9). Considering that Su_1 and Su_{3+4} are roughly contemporaneous, that they come from the same place, Susa in Elam, where copies of the Sumerian King List to use as originals cannot have been abundant, and that both texts stop short in their account of the Agade dynasty at exactly the same point, it is an obvious conclusion that they derive from a single original, a text in which by some accident the final section of the Agade dynasty had been destroyed. This conclusion becomes a certainty when we compare other sections of the two lists, for elsewhere also Su_1 and Su_{3+4} show the same omissions.

Only one more point needs comment. Su_1 and Su_{3+4} are not completely alike. Instead of the total 161 years given by Su_1 , Su_{3+4} has 177

original would obviously keep the texts identical. These scribal errors, however, would have to be very peculiar; for, since the sum of the figures in L_1 and those restored in S must be the same, we would have to assume that every time a scribal error changed one figure another scribal error changed another figure and that by coincidence one error always happened to add exactly as many years as the other subtracted. Such an assumption is so unlikely that we need not consider it. Thus the interplay of totals and single reigns assures a high degree of safety for the restoration. In our table we have such assurance for all of S and P_2 , for P_3 down to Dudu, and for L_1 down to Igigi.

⁴² A similar problem is discussed on p. 19.

⁴³ Ungnad in *ZA* XXXIV (1922) 14; Poebel *ibid.* p. 46; and Langdon, *OECT* II 18, n. 2. My own former objections in *Acta Orientalia* V (1927) 304, based on the fact that we know of no analogous instance, are not serious.

⁴⁴ See the text as restored above (p. 10, n. 24).

years. Since both texts derive from the same original, it should naturally be possible to give a reasonable explanation of this difference. This is indeed the case. If the version from which the ancestor of Su_1 and Su_{3+4} derived had for the reign of Dudu a damaged figure 21, but otherwise looked like L_1 and S , the copyist would read 1 instead of 21 and get 177 years as total for the dynasty. When later on the text—with the section on Dudu and $Shū$ -Durul hopelessly damaged—served as original for Su_1 and Su_{3+4} , the scribe who wrote Su_{3+4} simply took over the total 177 years which he found in the original, whereas the scribe of Su_1 checked the figures and, finding a discrepancy, made a new total by adding up the single reigns. This gave him 161 years.

We have thus seen that the somewhat singular data of both Su_1 and Su_{3+4} become understandable if we assume that these versions in the section which they preserve had the same figures as L_1 and S and derive from a common original damaged at the end of the dynasty. We can therefore group them together with L_1 , P_2 , P_3 , and S . All six versions represent the same form of the text.

The reconstructed original form of these six versions, based on all the factors just discussed, is given below. Alongside it we have placed the totally different text presented by the last of our versions, WB.

	The Six Versions	WB
Sharru(m)-kīn	55	56
Rīmush	15	9
Man-ıshtushu	7	15
Narām-Sīn	56	[]
Shar-kali-sharri	25 or 24 (P_3)	[]
Igigi, Nanum, Imi, and Elulu	3	[]
Dudu	21	21
$Shū$ -Durul	15	15
	<hr/> 197 or 196 (P_3)	<hr/> 181

As will be seen, only the figures for the last two rulers correspond in the two lists; the reigns of the first three rulers and the totals disagree; it is not even possible to restore the three missing reigns in WB from the other sources, as disagreement with its total would result.

The fact that these two forms of the text dissent so strongly naturally raises the question of which is the closer to the original. Fortunately the origin of one of the variants concerned can be elucidated with sufficient certainty to

provide the answer. In the form of the text represented by the six sources—for the sake of convenience we may call this form “B”—Rimush is stated to have reigned 15 years. In WB, however, the reign of Rimush is given as only 9 years, and it is his successor Man-ishtushu who reigned 15 years. To suggest that a scribal mistake changed the 15 years of B to the 9 of WB seems out of the question. These figures, ፲ (15) and ፻ (9), are too different to be misread for each other. Looking at the full form of the text as given in WB we note, however, that the phrase *rīmuš dumu šarru-kīn* occurs twice in close succession, so that a scribe copying such a text may easily have jumped from the first line down to the exactly similar passage in lines 4–5:

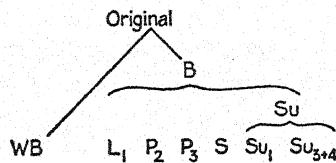
WB	Copy
<i>rīmu-uš dumu šarru-kīn</i>	<i>rīmu-uš dumu (šarru-kīn</i>
mu 9	i-a ₅
<i>ma-ni-iš-ti-iš-šu</i>	
<i>šeš-gal</i>	<i>rīmu-uš</i>
<i>dumu šarru-kīn</i>	<i>dumu) šarru-kīn</i>
mu 15	i-a ₅ mu 15 i-a ₅

Instead of *rīmuš dumu šarru-kīn mu 9 i-a₅* the scribe would thus get *rīmuš dumu šarru-kīn mu 15 i-a₅*; that is, a scribal mistake which may easily happen leads from the data of WB to the data of B. Since a development from the form presented by WB to that presented by B is thus easily explainable, whereas no way leads from the 15 years of B to the 9 of WB, we may conclude that WB has preserved the original text at this point.⁴⁵

This result means that six of our versions—L₁, P₂, P₃, S, Su₁, and Su₃₊₄—all contain the same copyist’s error, and it is therefore probable that they have all descended from the original through a single copy, that in which this error was made. Within the group Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ seem to be especially closely related. They derive from a version broken at the end of the Agade dynasty, a version through which none of the others has passed. WB, finally, stands alone. It has preserved a better text than the others and derives from the original without passing through the version in which the Rimush mistake was made. For the same reason as in the Atabba variant (p. 23) we cannot place WB in the same direct line of descent as the other texts and higher than

⁴⁵ This explanation purports to elucidate only the variant Rimush 15 in B. How B got the further error Man-ishtushu 7 we leave an open question at present.

the erroneous copy. Instead we must assume that it represents a different branch of the tradition. We can therefore draw up the following pedigree:⁴⁶



Here B represents the copy in which the Rīmush mistake was made, Su the broken text from which Su_1 and Su_{3+4} were copied. The significance of the braces has been explained above.

VARIANTS IN THE FORMULAS

The occurrence of the Atabba variants could be observed in five of our manuscripts. For the variants in the reigns of the Agade rulers we could consult seven. A still greater number of manuscripts can be compared through observation of the formulas which they use. The King List is given to clichés and uses set formulas whenever possible. Only three such formulas, however, recur so frequently through the text that they are of real value for our purpose. These are (1) the formula for change of dynasty, (2) the formula for dynasty total, and (3) the formula for introducing single rulers.⁴⁷ The forms which they take in our various manuscripts are as follows:

⁴⁶ In *Acta Orientalia* V (1927), 302–9, I some years ago proposed a different solution to account for the variants in the Agade dynasty, in which I assumed that the total 12 kings in 197 years of S as against 11 kings in 181 years of WB was due to the fact that S had listed a usurper with a reign of 16 years between Narām-Sin and Shar-kali-sharri, whereas WB left this usurper out. At the time when that article was written I did not have access to *PBS XIII* and thus did not know that the two fragments which make up L_1 actually join, forming part of a single tablet. It therefore seemed possible to consider these fragments parts of different versions and to put one of them, the one I called L_2 , aside as totally corrupt. I thus missed the significance of the fact that both of the two versions which preserved the section where my usurper should be placed showed no trace of him, and I similarly overlooked the highly suggestive correspondence between the single figures of these fragments and the total 197 years in S which indicates that S should be restored from them. Finally, I did not give due attention to the place of the <-wedge in the damaged figure for the reign before Shar-kali-sharri in P_3 . This wedge is placed so high that the traces can only be restored as 𒌦. 197 (56), the figure which L_1 gives as the length of Narām-Sin's reign, not as 16 (16) for the reign of my usurper. Thus P_3 also has Shar-kali-sharri as the immediate successor of Narām-Sin. Since P_3 with its total of 157 years after Shar-kali-sharri should have listed the postulated usurper, the theory must be abandoned.

⁴⁷ This formula may, within the single texts, be elaborated in various ways. Its basic constituents, with which we are here solely concerned, are (1) name of ruler + (2) length of reign + (3) verb: "he reigned." As elaborations—to which we do not pay attention—may be mentioned insertion after the ruler's name of (a) a patronymic: *d u m u P.*; (b) some

WB⁴⁸

1. Formula for change of dynasty: *A^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm*. Occurrences: ii 45-46: *kiš^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi é-an-na-šè ba-túm*; iii 37-38: *unug^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi ur^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; iv 17-19: *a-wa-an^{ki} gištukul ba-a-n-sig nam-lugal-bi kiš^{ki}-šè [ba-túm]*; iv 36-38: *kiš^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi ha-ma-z^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; iv 43-44: *ha-ma-z^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi unug^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; v 21-22: *[ad ab a^{ki}] gištukul ba-an-sig [nam-lugal-bi] ma-er^{ki}⁴⁹-šè ba-túm*; v 33-35: *[ma-er^{ki} gištukul] ba-an-sig [nam-lugal-bi] [kiš^{ki}-šè] ba-túm*; v 42-43: *kiš^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi u₄-kuš^{ki}(!) ba-túm*; vi 6-8: *u₄-kuš^{ki} gištukul [ba-an-sig nam]-ugal-bi kiš^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; vi 22-23: *kiš^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi unug^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; vi 28-30: *unug^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi a-ga-dè^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; vii 13-14: *a-ga-dè^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi unug^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; vii 24-26: *unug^{ki} gištukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi ki-su-lu-u-b₄(!) gu-tu-u-m(!) ba-túm*⁵⁰; viii 1-2: *ki-su-lu-u-b₄-gar*

epithet, such as *sip a(d)*, "the shepherd"; (c) information concerning the ruler's origin, the name of his city, or the character or occupation of his father (this information is given in the form *x-ni y*, "his *x* ['city,' 'father,' etc.] was *y* ['Ku^a(ra),' 'a *killu*-demon,' etc.]); (d) information concerning the ruler's exploits. This last type of information is given in the form of a relative sentence introduced by *lú*. The name of the ruler often takes the subject element *-e*, but as the use of this element is generally very irregular within the sources we are not considering its occurrence or nonoccurrence distinctive. *N.-e x mu i-a₅* and *N. x mu i-a₅* are thus not considered separate varieties of the formula.

Related to the formula for introducing single rulers is the formula for introducing dynasties: *A^{ki}-a N. lugal-àm mu x* (or: *x mu i-a₅* (or: *in-a₅*)), "In A N. became king and reigned *x* years."

⁴⁸ WB contains two sets of formulas, one used in the section dealing with the antediluvian rulers and one used in the postdiluvian section. As the various problems connected with the antediluvian section are dealt with in detail further on (pp. 55-68), we shall here limit ourselves to the formulas in the postdiluvian part. We quote from Langdon's autograph copy (*OECT II*, Pls. I-IV) as corrected by collation with photographs of the original (see pp. 76 ff.). In many cases Langdon's transliteration (*op. cit.* pp. 8-21) already has the correct readings.

⁴⁹ The reasons which make this reading preferable to *m a - r^{ki}* are stated by Thureau-Dangin in *RA XXXI* (1934) 83 f.

⁵⁰ The scribe omitted *-šè* after Akshak here where it belongs and wrote it after Akshak in the following line where it is incorrect. He must twice have looked at the wrong line of his original when he copied this passage.

⁵¹ The scribe forgot GAR after *ki-su-lu-u-b₄-* here and in the following line but remembered it in viii 1. He also omits *u₄-šè* after *gu-tu-u-m* in this line, although he correctly writes *gu-tu-u-m^{ki}* in the next line. This accumulation of omissions might suggest that the original of WB was slightly damaged at this place.

g[u-tu-um^{ki}] (!)⁵² nam-lugal-bi unug^{ki}-šè [ba-túm]; viii 7-8: unug^{ki} ^zitukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi ur^{1ki}-šè] ba-túm; viii 21-22: ur^{1ki}-ma (!)⁵³ ^zitukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi i-si-n^{ki}-šè ba-túm.

2. Formula for dynasty total: x lugal mu-bi y ¹b-a₅. If the dynasty consists of one king only, the verb changes from collective to singular: i-a₅. Occurrences: ii 42-44: 23 lugal mu-bi 24,510 itu 3 u₄ 3 u₄ $\frac{1}{2}$ ¹b-a₅; iii 35-36: 12 lugal mu-bi 2,310 ¹b-a₅; iv 15-16: 3 [ugal] mu-bi 361 [+ x ¹b-a₅]; iv 34-35: 8 lugal mu-bi 3,195 ¹[b-a₅]; iv 41-42: 1 lugal mu-bi 6 šu-ši ¹b-a₅,⁵⁴ v 13-14: [x] lugal mu-bi [y] ¹b-a₅; v 19-20: [x] lugal [mu-bi y +]20 ¹b-a₅,⁵⁴ v 31-32: [x +]5 lugal [mu-bi] 136 i(!)-a₅,⁵⁵ v 40-41: 1 lugal mu-bi 100 i-a₅; vi 20-21: 7 lugal mu-bi 491 ¹b-a₅; vi 26-27: 1 lugal mu (!)⁵⁶ 25 i-a₅; vii 11-12: 11 lugal mu-bi 181 ¹b-a₅; vii 22-23: 5 lugal mu-bi 30 ¹b-a₅; vii 50-51: [x +] 11 lugal [mu-bi y] u₄ 40 ¹b-a₅; viii 5-6: 1 [ugal] mu-bi 7 šu-ši 6 'u₄ [.. i-a₅]; viii 19-20: 4 lugal mu-bi 108 ¹b-a₅; viii 44-45: 13 lugal mu-bi 203 ¹b-a₅.

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁵⁷ mu x i-a₅. Occurrences: i 46-

⁵² The passage is broken, but the space available does not allow us to restore the full phrase g[u-tu-um^{ki} ^zitukul ba-an-sig]. The scribe seems therefore to have jumped a line, ^zitukul ba-an-sig. If this is correct, it suggests that WB's original was written with lines of only half the length of WB's, i.e., with the length of line usual in the other manuscripts.

⁵³ The form ur^{1ki}-ma is hardly intended as a locative, for the text does not as a rule express locative. More likely it is a mere slip due to the fact that the scribe was more conversant with the genitive form of the name, as this form naturally occurred more frequently than the nominative.

⁵⁴ Remnant of an earlier form of the text in which this dynasty numbered more than one ruler (cf. pp. 99, n. 174, and 102, n. 186).

⁵⁵ ¹b-a₅ would have been correct.

⁵⁶ The omission of -bi here is probably due to influence from l. 25, mu 25 i-a₅.

⁵⁷ The subject element is used sporadically when the name is followed by a patronymic, e.g. ba-li-ib dumu e-ta-na-ke₄, a₅-kà dumu en-me-en-bára-ge-si-ke₄, or by other epithets, e.g. ^dgilgames (dGIŠ-BIL-GA-MES) a-b-ba-ni līl-lá en kul-ab-ba-ke₄. The subject element may even be found before epithets with -àm where it is incorrect (see Poebel, GSG § 152): k iš^{1ki} púzur-^dsín dumu kù-^db-a-ba-ke₄ lugal-àm. Often, however, it is omitted, e.g. bar-sal-nun-na dumu en-me-nun-na, ur-^dnun-gal dumu ^dgilgames (dGIŠ-BIL-GA-MES); and it is never used after a name which stands alone without epithet or patronymic, in other words where there is not an obvious genitive relationship (cf. e.g. writings such as ur-^dutu [vii 21], although the name contains a genitive, with ^dšul-gi dumu ^dur-^dn a m m u -k e₄ [viii 11], where the genitive is "obvious"). This peculiar use of the subject -e belongs to a late stage of Sumerian at which the subject element had virtually gone out of use. It occurs as a "fossil" only, namely in the sign -k e₄, which originally was used after subjects containing a genitive (N. - (a) k - e) but in this late period had come to be considered a mere genitive indication (cf. Poebel, GSG §§ 373 ff., where the rules governing the genitive in late periods are set forth in detail).

47: *gul-la* ^d*nida* *ba-a-n-na* - *da'* *sikil*⁵⁸ *mu* 960 *i-a*₅; ii 7-8: *kà-lí* *bu-u* *mu* 960 *i-a*₅; ii 9: *qà-lu-mu* *mu* 840 *i-a*₅; *passim*.

P₂

1. Formula for change of dynasty: *A^{ki} ba-[gul] nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm*. Occurrences: ii 1-3: [*ki* *ši^{ki}* *ba-gul*] *nam-lugal-[b]i* é-*a-n-na-šè* *ba-tú* [m]; iii 1-2: [*u n u g^{ki}* *ba-gul* *nam-lugal-bi*] *urí[^{ki}-šè* *ba-túm*]; iii 17-19: *ur^{ki} ba*⁵⁹ - [*gul*] *nam-lugal-[b]i* *a-wa-a-n* (!)⁶⁰ *ba-túm*.

2. Formula for dynasty total: *x lugal mu-bi y mu íb-a*₅. Occurrence: iii 14-16: 4 *lug* [a] *l* *mu-bi* 171 [m u] í [b-a₅]. Compare the form of the final totals: xi 1-4: *ŠU-NIGIN* '51' *lugal* *mu-bi* 18[000+x+]9 *mu* [y *itu* z *u*₄] íb-[a₅]; xi 7-9: *ŠU-NIGIN* '22 *lugal* *mu-bi* 2,61[0+x] *mu* 6 *itu* 13[+x] *u*₄ íb-[a₅]; xi 12-14: *ŠU-NIGIN* '13' *lugal* *mu-bi* 396 *mu* íb-a₅; xi 17-19: *ŠU[-NIGIN]* 3 *lugal* *mu-bi* 356 *mu* íb-a₅; xi 22-23: [*ŠU*]-*NIGIN* 1 *lugal* *mu-bi* 7 *mu* [i-a₅]; xii 1-3: [*ŠU-NIGIN* x] *lugal* [*mu-bi* y+]137 [m u] íb-a₅; xii 6-8: *ŠU-NIGIN* 21 *lugal* *mu-bi* 125 *mu* 40 *u*₄ íb-a₅; xii 12-14: [*ŠU-NIGIN*] 11 *lugal* [m u-b]i 159 *mu* íb-a₅.

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: *N.⁶¹ x mu i-a*₅. Occurrences: i 7-8: [*q à*]-*lu-mu-u-m-e* [900] *mu i-a*₅; i 9-10: [*z* u - *q á* - *q i*₄ - *ip-e* '900' *mu i-a*₅; *passim*.

P₃

1. Formula for change of dynasty: not preserved.

2. Formula for dynasty total: *x [lugal] mu-bi y [] í[b (?) - a₅]*. Occurrence: ii 7-9: 23 [*lugal*] *mu-bi* 18,000 [+ x] *itu* 3 *u*₄ 3 í[b-a₅].

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: *N.⁶² x mu i-a*₅. Occurrences: i 1-2:

⁵⁸ Probably not a proper name; see p. 77, n. 40.

⁵⁹ Poebel reads this sign as *ma* in *PBS* IV 1, p. 76, and translates "the kingdom of Ur passed to Awan" (*ur im-a (k) n a m-lugal-bi* etc.); but his copy shows a clear *ba*! On the restoration *ba-[gul]* see p. 46, n. 93.

⁶⁰ The scribe omitted *ki-šè*.

⁶¹ The subject element -e is used regularly (1) when the name stands alone: [*q à*]-*lu-mu-u-m-e*, [*z* u - *q á* - *q i*₄ - *ip-e*], *en-me-nun-na-ke*₄ (the only exceptions are *'á'-tab-ba* and *'á-ba!*); (2) when the name is followed by a patronymic only: *ar-wi dumu maš-dà-ke*, *wa-li-iḥ dumu e-ta-na-ke*₄, *me-lám-kiši^{ki}* *dumu en-me-nun-na-ke*₄, *bar-sal-nun-na dumu en-me-nun-na-ke*₄, *'SUMUG'* *sà-[mug]* *dumu bar-sal-nun-na-ke*₄, [*ti-iz*]-*'kár'* *dumu bar-sal-nun-na-ke*₄. If the name is followed by other epithets or by a note the scribe wavers. He omits -e with a simple epithet: *lugal-ba-n-d-a* *sipa*, where *sipa-dè* would have been correct. When the name is followed by an epithet ending with -àm he writes *me-s-ki-i-n-ga-še-er dumu* *á-itu en-àm* *lugal-àm*, which is correct (*GSG* § 152), but he also writes incorrectly *en-me-er-rù-kár* [*dumu*] *me-s-ki-i-n-ga-še-er-ke*₄ *lugal unu^{ki}-gal* *lú unu^{ki}-ga* *mu-u-n-d-a-dù-a lugal-àm*.

⁶² Except for *'ar'-bu-u-m* [*dum u*] *maš-EN-dà-'k e*₄ the subject element does not appear in any of the names preserved.

[kà-lí-bu]-um [x m] u i-a₅; i 3-4: [a]-ba [x] mu i-[a₅]; i 5-6: 'a'-tab-ba 720[+ x] mu i-a₅; *passim*.

P₄

1. Formula for change of dynasty: A^{ki} gištu [kul ba-sig] nam-lugal-[b i] B^{ki}-šè ba-túm]. Occurrence: i 2-5: unug^{ki} gištu [kul ba-sig] nam-lugal-[b i] ki-su-lu-úb-[g a r] gu-ti-um^{uk}i-[šè ba-túm].

2. Formula for dynasty total: [x lugal] mu-bi y []. Occurrence: i 1: [x lugal] mu-bi 24[+ y].

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁶³ x mu i-[a₅]. Occurrence: i 6-7: im-^{ta}-[a] 3 mu i-[a₅].

P₅

1. Formula for change of dynasty: A^{ki} bala-bi ba-an-kúr nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-an-[túm]. Occurrence: iv 7: 'ur^{ki} bala-bi ba-an-kúr nam-lugal-bi i-si-in^{ki}-šè ba-an-[túm].

2. Formula for dynasty total: x lugal-e-ne mu⁶⁴ y in-ak-eš. Occurrences: iv 6: 5 lugal-e-ne(!)⁶⁴ 117 in-ak-eš; iv 24: [x lugal-e]-'ne¹ [m] u 225 itu 6 in-ak¹-[e š].

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁶⁵ mu x in-a₅. Occurrences: i 9: qà-lu-mu-um [mu x in-a₅]; i 10: zu-qá-ki-ip [mu x in-a₅]; i 21: q¹-ta-sa-du-um mu [x in-a₅]; iv 13: [ur-dnin]-urta mu 28 in-[a₅]; *passim*.

P₆

1. Formula for change of dynasty: not preserved.

2. Formula for dynasty total: [x lugal [m] u-bi y i¹b-a₅. Occurrence: compare the final total in ii 1-3: [šu-NIGIN x lugal [m] u-bi 125 i¹b-a₅.

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N. x mu i-a₅. Occurrences: i 2-5: d¹[r-] u[r-] dumu nu-mu-[] 6 mu i-[a₅]; i 6-7: su-mu-a-bu-u[m] itu 8 i-a₅; i 8-9: [i-k] u-un-pi-ištar [x mu] q¹-a₅.

⁶³ The fragment has not preserved a single complete name, so we do not know whether it used the subject element or not.

⁶⁴ In iv 6 the scribe omits mu. This omission, however, is obviously due to negligence in copying, for in iv 24, where the formula occurs again, traces of mu are preserved.

⁶⁵ The subject element is in this text used differently in the different sections. In col. i the subject element -e is used when the name is followed by a patronymic: ar-wi-ú dumu maš-dà-ke₄, ba-'li-ib¹ dumu e-'ta'-na-ke₄, me-lám-'kiši^{ki} dumu e[n]-me-nun-'na-ke₄, SUMUG sà-mug dumu bar-sal-nun-na-ke₄, 'ti'-iz-kár dumu SUMUG sà-mug-ke₄. When the name stands alone -e is not used. The only exception is [i]l-k u-u m-e. Similarly in iv 1-14 -e is used when the name is followed by a patronymic: šul-gi dumu ur-dnam mu-ke₄ etc., but not when the name stands alone. It makes no difference whether the name is followed by an epithet with -àm or not, for we find ur^{ki}-ma ur-dnam mu-ke₄ lugal-àm (iv 1) but also [i]-si-in^{ki}-na iš-bi-¹ir-ra lugal-àm (iv 8). From 1. 15 on, however, all the names seem to be without -e, even when they are followed by patronymics. We must here no doubt recognize a different hand; the scribe who added the last section of the list did not bother with this grammatical feature (cf. p. 135).

L₁

1. Formula for change of dynasty: A^{ki} *gištukul* ba-sīg nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-sē ba-túm. Occurrences: iii 8: [ur^{ki}] *gištukul* ba-sīg [nam-lugal-bi a-wa-aⁿⁱ-sē ba-túm]; iv 5-7: kiš^{ki} *gištukul* ba-sīg nam-lugal-bi ha-ma-z^{ki}-sē ba-túm; v 1: [ur^{ki} *gištukul* ba-sīg nam-lugal-bi] adabak^{ki}-sē [b]a-túm; v 8-10: adabak^{ki} *gištukul* ba-sīg nam-lugal-bi [a] ma-erik^{ki}-sē ba-túm; vi 2-4: u₄-kuš^{úki} *gištukul* ba-sīg nam-lugal-bi kiš^{ki}-sē ba-túm; ix 4-8: ki-su-lu-úb-gar *gu-ti-um^{ki}* *gištukul* ba-sīg [nam-l]ugal-bi [unug^{ki}-sē] ba-túm¹.

2. Formula for dynasty total: x lugal mu-bi y *fb-a₅*⁶⁶. Occurrences: iii 6-7: [x] lugal [mu-bi y+] 51 *fb-a₅*; iv 2-4: 4[+]x lugal mu-bi 3,792 *fb-a₅*; v 6-7: 1 lugal mu-bi 90 *fb-a₅*; vi 1: [x lugal] mu-bi 99 *fb-a₅*; ix 2-3: 21 lugal mu-bi 124 u₄ 40!

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁶⁷ x mu i-a₅. Occurrences: iii 2-3: [e]-l^{u¹}-lu [x] mu i-a₅; iii 4-5: [ba-lu]-lu [x] mu i-a₅; *passim*. Two neighboring passages, viii 4-7 and 20-21, have a different formula: N. x mu in-a₅⁶⁸. Occurrences: viii 4-5: in-gi₄-sūš 7 mu in-a₅ (l. 3 still has i-a₅); viii 6-7: zār-arr-la-ga-ba 6 mu in-a₅ (l. 9 has i-a₅ again); viii 20-21: []-an-ga-b [x mu] in-a₅.

L₂

1. Formula for change of dynasty: not preserved.

2. Formula for dynasty total: not preserved.

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁶⁹ x mu i-a₅. Occurrences: i 1-2: te-[x+] 600 mu i-a₅; i 3-4: pā-la-kí-na-'ti-im¹ 900 mu i-a₅; i 5-6: na-an-giš-li-iš-ma [x] mu i-a₅.

S

1. Formula for change of dynasty: A^{ki}-a(k) bala-bi ba-kúr nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-sē ba-túm. Occurrences: obv. 8: u₄-kuš^{úki}-a bala-bi ba-kúr nam-lugal-bi kiš^{ki}-sē ba-túm; obv. 19: kiš^{ki} bala-bi ba-kúr nam-lugal-bi unug^{ki}-sē ba-túm; obv. 22: unu^{ki}-ga bala-bi ba-kúr [nam-lugal-bi] a-ga-d^{ki}-sē ba-túm; rev. 9-10: a-ga-d^{ki} bala-bi ba-kúr nam-lugal-bi unug^{ki}-sē ba-túm; rev. 17-18: unu^{ki}-ga bala-bi ba-kúr nam-lugal-bi ki-su-lu-úb-gar *gu-ti-um^{ki}*-sē ba-túm.

2. Formula for dynasty total: x lugal-e-ne mu-bi y in-ak-eš. If the dynasty consists of one king only the words lugal-e-ne and in-ak-eš

⁶⁶ This text seems to keep the collective *fb-a₅* even when the dynasty has only one ruler.

⁶⁷ The subject element is not used. Only two names are exceptions: púzur-^{dsin} dumu kū-⁴ba-ba₄-ke₄ lugal-⁴am and ur-⁴za-ba₄-ba₄ dumu púzur-^{dsin}-k e₄.

⁶⁸ On the significance of this change see pp. 54 f.

⁶⁹ The subject element is not used in the two names preserved.

change to singular *lugal* and *in-a₅*. Occurrences: obv. 7: 6 *lugal-e-ne mu-bi* 99 *in-a-k-eš*; obv. 18: 8 *lugal-e-[n]e mu-bi* 586 *in-a-k-eš*; obv. 21: 1 *lugal mu-bi* 25 *in-a₅*; rev. 8: 12 *lugal-e-ne mu-bi* 197 *in-a-k-eš*; rev. 16: 5 *lugal-e-ne mu-bi* 26 *in-a-k-eš*.

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁷⁰ x *mu in-a₅*. Occurrences: obv. 2: *un-da-lu-lu* 12 *mu in-a₅*; obv. 3: *ur-ur* 6 *mu in-a₅*; obv. 4: *púzur-dnirah* 20 *mu in-a₅*; *passim*.

Su₁

1. Formula for change of dynasty: *A^{ki} sištukul ba-sig nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm*. Occurrences: v 1: [... *ki* sištukul ba-sig nam-lugal-bi *u₄-kušú^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; v 18-20: *u₄-kušú^{ki} sištukul ba-sig nam-lugal-bi ma-eri^{[ki]-šè ba-túm}; vi 10-12: *kišiki sištukul ba-sig nam-lugal-bi unug^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; vi 19-21: *unug^{ki} sištukul ba-sig nam-lugal-[bi] a-ga-dè^{ki}[-šè ba-túm]*; vii 5-7: *a-ga-d^{[k]i} sištukul ba-sig nam-lugal-bi unug^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; viii 7-9: *ur^{ki} sištukul ba-sig nam-lugal-[bi] i-si-in^{ki}-šè ba-túm*.*

2. Formula for dynasty total: x *lugal mu-bi y mu i-a₅ (?)*.⁷¹ Occurrences: iv 14: [x] *lugal [mu-bi y mu i-a₅ (?)]*; v 16-17: 6 *lugal mu-bi* 110 [+x+] 3 *mu i-a₅ (?)*; vi 8-9: 7 *lugal mu-bi* 485 *mu i-a₅ (?)*; vi 17-18: 1 *lugal mu-bi* 25 *mu i-a₅ (?)*; vii 3-4: [x+] 3 *lugal mu-bi* 161 *mu i-a₅ (?)*; viii 5-6: 2 [+x *lugal*] 'm u¹-b¹ 120 [+y *mu i-a₅ (?)*].

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁷² x *mu i-a₅ (?)*. Occurrences: vi 2-3: *iš-me-dšamaš* 11 *mu i-a₅ (?)*; vi 4-5: *šu-i-lí-šu* 15 *mu i-a₅ (?)*; vi 6-7: *sí-mu-dar* 7 *mu i-a₅ (?)*; *passim*.

Su₂

1. Formula for change of dynasty: *A^{ki} ba-gul nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm*. Occurrences: ii 11-13: *kiši^{ki} ba-gul nam-lugal-bi é-an-na^{ki}-šè ba-túm*; iii 9-11: *unug^{ki} ba-g[ul] nam-lugal-[bi] urí^{[ki]-šè ba-túm}*.

2. Formula for dynasty total: x *lugal mu-bi y mu i-a₅*. Occurrences: ii 7-10: 23 *lugal mu-bi* 20,940 *mu* 30 *itu* 3 *u₄ 2¹ i-a₅*; iii 6-8: 12 *lugal mu-bi* 3,588 *mu i-a₅*.

⁷⁰ The subject element is used regularly when the name is followed by a patronymic, otherwise not.

⁷¹ According to Scheil in *RA* XXXI (1934) 149 the text uses *NA* throughout instead of *a₅*. This spelling would be surprising even for a text written in Susa, and the present writer is inclined to believe that the sign which Scheil reads as *NA* is in reality a careless form of *AK* peculiar to the scribe who wrote *Su₁*. The two signs are not very different: *AK* (*AK*; *MDP* XXII, No. 42:9) and *AK* (*NA*). It is unfortunate that *Su₁* has not preserved the line concerning *Aka*, so that we could see how the scribe wrote an indisputable *AK*.

⁷² The subject element is not used with names which stand alone and occurs only occasionally where the name is followed by a patronymic: [a₅] *-wi-um* [dumu maš]-dà-ke₄, [ba-a₅] *i-i₄* dumu e-[t]á-na-ke₄, but *šu-dsín* dumu i-šu-il, *ur-sigigir* dumu *ur-nigín*, *lugal-me-lám* dumu *ur-sigigir*.

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁷³ x mu i-a₅. Occurrences: ii 2-3: en-me-bára-ga-e-si 900 mu i-a₅; ii 4-6: a₅-kà... 625 mu i-a₅; iii 2-3: ti-[] 75 mu i-[a₅]. The last reign preserved on the fragment has a different formula:⁷⁴ N. mu x i-a₅. Occurrence: iii 4-5: lugal-[] mu 7 i-a₅.

Su₃₊⁷⁵

1. Formula for change of dynasty: A^{ki} sistukul ba-sig nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm. Occurrences: ii 1-3: []^{ki} sistukul ba-sig nam-lugal-[b]i [kiš^{ki}]-šè ba-túm; ii 23-25: [kiš^{ki} sistukul] ba-sig [nam-lugal]-bi [unug^{ki}-šè ba]-túm; ii 32-34: [unug^{ki} sistukul] ba-sig [nam-lugal-b]i [a-ga-dé^{ki}]-šè ba-túm; iii 17-20: a-ga-dé^{ki} sistukul ba-sig nam-lugal-bi unug^{ki}-šè ba-túm; iii 34-37: unug^{ki} sistukul ba-sig [n]am-lugal-bi [m]a-da gu-tù-u[m^{ki}]-šè ba-túm; iv 3-6: ma-da gu-[tù-u[m^{ki}]] sistukul ba-[sig] nam-lugal-[b]i unug^{ki}-šè [ba-túm]; iv 14-16: unug^{ki} sistukul ba-sig] nam-lugal-bi] urí^{ki}-šè ba-túm; iv 36-38: urí-ma^{ki} sistukul ba-sig
....⁷⁶

2. Formula for dynasty total: x lugal mu-bi y mu i-a₅. Occurrences: ii 20-22: [x lug]al [mu-bi y] mu [i]-a₅; ii 30-31: [x lug]al [mu-bi y mu] i-a₅; iii 14-16: '3[+x lugal] mu-bi 177 mu i-a₅; iii 31-33: 3 lugal mu-bi 57 mu i-a₅; iv 33-35: 5 lugal mu-bi 123 mu i-a₅.

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁷⁷ x mu i-a₅. Occurrences: ii 5-9: kù-^dba-ba₅... 100 mu i-a₅; iii 1-2: [ma-a-n]-iš-ti-[su x] mu i-a₅; iii 3-5: šar-^kalⁱ-šar-ri... 25 mu i-a₅; iv 1-2: lugal-[] 25 mu [i-a₅]; iv 18-20: ur-^d[nam mu]... 18 mu i-a₅; iv 21-23: ^dš ul-g[i]... 48 mu i-a₅; *passim*. A single section, iii 22-30, has another formula:⁷⁸ N. mu x i-a₅. Occurrences: iii 22-24: ur-nigìn... mu 15 i-a₅; iii 25-27: ur-^{si}gigir... mu 7 i-a₅; iii 28-30: ur-^dutu... mu 25 i-a₅.

K

1. Formula for change of dynasty: absent.

2. Formula for dynasty total: x lugal-e-ne bala A^{ki} mu y in-a₅-me-eš. Occurrences: rev. i 13: 1[lugal-e-ne bala TIN-TIR^{ki} mu x in-a₅-me-eš]; ii 8: 3 lugal-e-ne bala kur a-ab-ba mu 23 in-a₅-me-eš; ii 12: [3 lugal-e-ne] bala bít-^mba-zí mu 20 itu 3 i[n]-a₅-me-eš.

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁷⁹ mu x in-a₅. Occurrences: obv.

⁷³ The subject element is not used in the names preserved.

⁷⁴ Cf. the similar cases presented by L₁, which changes from i-a₅ to in-a₅, and Su₃₊, which changes from x mu to mu x; see pp. 54f. for full discussion.

⁷⁵ For the line numbering see p. 10, n. 24.

⁷⁶ The text seems to have su₃uš 'ke^l[] mu-un(?) [], which may be restored as su₃uš 'ke^l-[e n - g i - r a] mu - un^l-[sír], "The foundation of Sumer was torn out."

⁷⁷ The subject element is not used.

⁷⁸ Cf. the similar cases presented by Su₂, which also changes from x mu to mu x, and by L₁, which changes from i-a₅ to in-a₅; see pp. 54f. for full discussion.

⁷⁹ The subject element is not used.

i 1: [N. mu x] in-a₅; ii 2: ^mbali_h....[mu x in-a₅]; ii 3: ^men-men-nun-na [mu x in-a₅]; rev. ii 5: ^mé-a-mu-ki-n-zér....itu 3 in-a₅; ii 7: ^mkaš-šu-u-nádin-abi....mu 3 in-a₅; *passim*.

G

1. Formula for change of dynasty: not preserved.

2. Formula for dynasty total: not preserved.

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁷⁹ x mu i-a₅. Occurrences: vii 3: [in-ki-šuš 6 m] u i-a₅; vii 4: [sa (?)-ar-la-gab 6] mu i-a₅; vii 5: [šul-me-e] 6 m[u i-a₅]; vii 6: [e-lu-lu-me-eš] 7 m[u i-a₅]; vii 7: in-i-ma-ba-ki-e] 5 [mu i-a₅]; vii 8: [i-ge-e-še-a-u] š '6' [mu i-a₅].

J

1. Formula for change of dynasty: A^{ki} ^{šištukul} ba-sig nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm. Occurrences: obv. 1-4: [ki-su-lu-úb-gar] gu-tiu m^{ki} [šištukul] ba-sig [na m]-lugal-bi [unug]^{ki}-šè ba-túm; rev. 6-8: [u] r^{ki} ^{šištukul} ba-sig [na m]-lugal-bi [š]-si-in^{ki}-šè ba-túm.

2. Formula for dynasty total: 1 lugal mu-bi x i-a₅.⁸⁰ Occurrences: obv. 7-8: 1 lugal [mu-bi 7] itu 6 u₄ 15 i-'_{a₅}'; rev. 4-5: 5 lu [gal] [m] u-bi [109 i b-a₅].⁸¹

3. Formula for introducing single rulers: N.⁸¹ mu x [i-a₅]. Occurrence: obv. 5-6: ^{du} tu-^h é-gá 1....mu 7 itu 6 u₄ [15 i-a₅].

A glance through this list will show that our three formulas vary not inconsiderably from one source to another.

1. The formula for change of dynasty occurs in three principal⁸² forms:

a) In WB, P₄, L₁, Su₁, Su₃₊₄, and J:

A^{ki} ^{šištukul} ba-sig (WB: ba-a-n-sig) nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè
ba-túm

"The city A was smitten with weapons;⁸³ its kingship was carried⁸⁴ to the city B."

⁸⁰ In totals with more than one ruler the text presumably used i b-a₅.

⁸¹ There is only this one example of the formula for introducing single rulers. As the name is followed by lugal-àm, the subject element is (correctly) omitted.

⁸² For the sake of convenience and greater perspicuity we have here grouped WB with P₄, L₁, Su₁, Su₃₊₄, and J, although strictly speaking it represents a separate form differing from the others by having ba-a-n-sig instead of ba-sig. In the same way we have grouped S and P₅ together, although P₅ writes ba-a-n-kúr and ba-a-n-túm while S has ba-a-kúr and ba-túm. To separate WB from P₄, L₁, Su₁, Su₃₊₄, and J and to separate S from P₅ merely because of this small and insignificant (see p. 41) variation would quite unnecessarily blur the basic grouping under ^{šištukul} ba-sig, ba-gul, and ba-a-bi ba-kúr.

⁸³ Gütterbock in ZA n.F. VIII (1934) 2 makes ^{šištukul} subject and translates "die Stadt x schlug die Waffe"; but since the interest of the author of the King List so clearly centers in the ruling cities (see below, n. 86), it is more natural to have the city name in the most prominent position, i.e., as subject.

⁸⁴ This formula is rendered "the kingdom of passed to" or the like by almost all scholars. But an occurrence of the same formula in an inscription of Utu-hegá

b) In $P_2(?)$ and Su_2 :

A^{ki} b a - g u l n a m - l u g a l - b i B^{ki} - š e b a - t ú m
 "The city A was destroyed; its kingship was carried to the city B."

c) In S and P_5 :

A^{ki} - a (k) (P_5 : A^{ki}) b a l a - b i b a - k ú r (P_5 : b a - a n - k ú r) n a m -
 l u g a l - b i B^{ki} - š e b a - t ú m (P_5 : b a - a n - t ú m)
 "The turn (to reign) of the city A was changed; its kingship was carried to the
 city B."

One text, K, omits the formula altogether.

2. The formula for dynasty total occurs in six different forms:

a) In Su_1 , Su_2 , and Su_{2+4} :

x l u g a l	m u - b i y m u i - a ₅
"x kings	reigned ^{ss} its (the city's) ^{ss} years, y years."

b) In P_2 :

x l u g a l	m u - b i y m u f b - a ₅
"x kings	reigned its (the city's) years, y years."

(*RA* IX [1912] 112-13 i 1-6), which contains our phrase: . . . g u - t i - u m^{ki} . . . l ú
 n a m - l u g a l k e - e n - g i - r á k u r - š e b a - t ú m - a, "Gutium . . . , who had
 carried the kingship of Sumer off to the mountains," leaves no doubt that DU represents
 a transitive verb. We must therefore read b a - t ú m (!) and b a - a n - t ú m (!), "was
 carried" (b a - t ú m is the normal passive preterit 3d sg.; b a - a n - t ú m is the corre-
 sponding form used by the scribes who followed what Poebel calls "post-Sumerian sys-
 tem A." See *AJS* L [1933/34] 170). The kingship was thus not imagined as personal
 and moving from city to city according to its own will but as an inanimate thing—prob-
 ably closely tied up with its symbols, the scepter and crown—which had to be taken or
 carried from one place to another.

^{ss} We retain the traditional rendering of a (k) as "reigned," although, as Poebel has
 pointed out in *OLZ* XV (1912) 291 f., a (k) means only "to do," "to perform." "To
 reign" is n a m - e n - a (k), "to perform lordship," or n a m - l u g a l - a (k), "to
 perform kingship." Poebel is inclined to believe that a (k) in our formulas takes m u ,
 "years," as object: "so und so viele Jahre hat er gemacht." We consider his other explana-
 tion, that "ein nam-lugal zu all den in-ag-Sätzen dem Sinne nach zu ergänzen . . . ist,"
 much more satisfactory.

^{ss} The suffix - b i must here, as in the preceding formula, refer to the city in question
 and cannot, as is generally supposed by translators, refer to its kings. This is plainly shown
 by the fact that - b i is retained even when the dynasty consists of only one ruler and
 the verb changes to singular (e.g. *WB* v 40-41: 1 l u g a l m u - b i 100 i - a₅; *WB* viii
 5-6: 1 [l u g a l] m u - b i 7 š u - š i 6 'u₄ [..i - a₅]; *S* obv. 21: 1 l u g a l m u - b i 25
 i n - a₅). If - b i referred to the kings, we should here have had 1 l u g a l m u - n i (!) x
 i - a₅ (or i n - a₅). The list is primarily concerned with the kingship of cities, not of single
 persons, as is clearly expressed in the framework as a whole: ". . . The kingship was
 in *Kish*. In *Kish* Ga. ur(?) became king and ruled 1,200 years; N. ruled 960 years;
 . . . 23 kings ruled its 24,510 years, 3 months, and 3½ days. *Kish* was smitten with weap-
 ons; its kingship was carried to *E-Anna*(k). In *E-Anna*(k)"

c) In WB, P₆, L₁, and J(?):

x lug al	m u - b i y	f b - a ₅
"x kings	reigned its (the city's) y years."	

d) In S:

x lug al-e-n e	m u - b i y	in - a k - e š
"x kings	reigned its (the city's) y years."	

e) In P₅:

x lug al-e-n e	m u y	in - a k - e š
"x kings	reigned y years."	

f) In K:

x lug al-e-n e bala A ^{ki}	mu y	in - a ₅ - m e - e š
"x kings of the dynasty of A	reigned y years."	

3. The formula for introducing single rulers occurs in four forms:

a) In WB and J(?):

N. m u x	ı - a ₅
"N. reigned x years."	

b) In P₂, P₃, P₄, P₆, L₁, L₂, Su₁, Su₂, Su₃₊₄, and G:

N. x m u	ı - a ₅
"N. reigned x years."	

c) In P₅ and K:

N. m u x	in - a ₅
"N. reigned x years."	

d) In S:

N. x m u	in - a ₅
"N. reigned x years."	

The origin and probable causes of most of these variants are fairly clear. We notice first a certain number of variants which must be due to the application of the grammatical and orthographical rules taught in the scribal schools of the Isin-Larsa and post-Hammurabi periods. The variants b a - s i g : b a - a n - s i g , b a - k ú r : b a - a n - k ú r , and b a - t ú m : b a - a n - t ú m of the formula for change of dynasty and the variant ı - a₅ : in - a₅ of the formula for introducing single rulers obviously have their origin in the late custom of expressing the subject - n - of the verbal form in writing.⁸⁷ The other variant in the formula for introducing single rulers, m u x : x m u , corresponds similarly to the change from the older Sumerian usage, according to which the numeral follows the word for that which is counted, to the later

⁸⁷ The date of this custom is discussed in detail on pp. 131-35.

usage in which the numeral precedes.⁸⁸ Application of later grammatical rules is likewise responsible for the variant *lugal...ib-a₅* : *lugal-e-ne...in-a-k-eš* : *lugal-e-ne...in-a₅-me-eš* in the formula for dynasty total. The old collective plural, which in the noun is expressed by the naked stem, in the verb by the form *i-b-LAL*, grew obsolete in the Isin-Larsa period,⁸⁹ in which *i-b-LAL* was chiefly used for 3d sg. of the causative. It is therefore understandable that copyists of this period should correct *lugal...ib-a₅* to the form which they considered correct, *lugal-e-ne...in-a-k-eš*, and that still later copyists should change to *lugal-e-ne...in-a₅-me-eš*.

Other variants, however, seem completely independent of any rules whatever, so much so indeed that we must ascribe their origin to idiosyncrasies in individual copyists. A variant of this type is that in the formula for change of dynasty, *A^{ki}gištukul ba-sig nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm* : *A^{ki}ba-gul nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm* : *A^{ki}-a(k) bala-bi ba-kúr nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm*. The three forms say virtually the same thing, and it is quite impossible to imagine any rule which would make scribes who found, for example, *gištukul ba-sig* in their originals change to *bala-bi ba-kúr* or to *ba-gul*.

Somewhat less clear are the causes which produced the variant *m u - b i y* : *m u : m u - b i y : m u y* in the formula for dynasty total. Such a syntactical construction as *x lugal mu-bi y ib-a₅*, "x kings reigned its (the city's) y years," has close parallels in Old Sumerian.⁹⁰ It seems possible that such a form would sound incomplete to later scribes. The numeral has reference to the preceding *m u - b i*, "its years"; but, since the word for that which is counted was in later times generally placed after the numeral, they may have felt that something was missing and so have added a second *m u*. Even if we admit the probability of such a feeling, however, we have no means to judge its strength. Would it unavoidably suggest to every scribe that he should add a *m u* after the numeral, thus acting with the force of a grammatical rule; or was it merely a matter of personal feeling for the language, leaving the individuality of the scribe a considerable amount of play?⁹¹

⁸⁸ See Poebel, *GSG* §§ 303-5.

⁸⁹ See the detailed discussion of this change on p. 129. That *i-b-LAL* is collective was shown by Poebel, *Grammatical Texts (PBS VI 1 [1914])* p. 101.

⁹⁰ Cf. e.g. E-Anna(k)-tum Brick A (*Déc.*, p. xlv, No. 8; *SAK*, p. 26 *h*) iii 5-iv 9: *é-an-n-a-túm-e...um m a^{ki} GIN-šè bí-sí SAHAR-DU-KID-bi 20 m u - d u b*, "E-Anna(k)-tum defeated Umma and heaped up its twenty burial mounds."

⁹¹ The construction as a whole is so rare that our material does not even permit us to form an idea of which form was prevalent in the various periods.

The last form, *x lug al-e-ne mu y in-a-k-eš*, is probably due to the fact that the scribe in question was not aware that the *-bi* refers to the city in which the dynasty reigned. He expected to find a simple summary: "x kings. They reigned y years" and got a smoother text by omitting *-bi*.

Lastly there is the variant *i-a₅* in the formula for dynasty total as against *ib-a₅*, *in-a-k-eš*, or *in-a₅-me-eš*. This very curious use of the singular in passages where the context clearly demands collective or plural becomes intelligible when we notice that it is limited to three versions, *Su₁*, *Su₂*, and *Su₃₊₄*, which all come from Elam. In Elamite scribes we can expect but limited knowledge of Sumerian grammar. That they did not understand the reasons for the occasional change in their originals from *i-a₅* within the dynasties to *ib-a₅* in the totals and therefore disregarded it is not to be wondered at, especially when we consider that their own tongue, the Elamite, does not stress the difference between singular and plural in the verb.⁹²

We thus see that some of our variants are due to the application of later linguistic norms, some have been caused by idiosyncrasies in individual copyists, and one, the variant *mu-bi y mu:mu-bi y:mu y*, takes an intermediate position; it seems dependent upon a change in usage, but as we do not know how complete this change was we cannot decide whether the new usage acted as a fixed norm or left the decision with the individual scribe and his feeling for the language. Lastly, a single variant found only in the manuscripts from Elam seems to have originated through influence from the native language of Elam combined with limited knowledge of Sumerian.

All of these variants may be characterized as intentional; they are (1) corrections, (2) changes to forms which pleased the copyist better than those he found in the original, or (3) systematic disregardings of differences which he did not understand. This element of intention which characterizes the variants makes them in certain cases less valuable for our present purpose. There is very little probability that two copyists should independently chance to make the same *unintentional* deviation in copying at the same place in the list. When we find the same error in two manuscripts we are therefore entitled to conclude that both inherited the error from a single original. In the case of intentional variants, however, the value varies. We can consider it

⁹² F. Bork in his article "Elam," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, hrsg. von Max Ebert, III (Berlin, 1925) 78 b: "Ein Vergleich der alten Sprache mit dem Hörz̄t lehrt, dass auch jene von Hause aus Singular und Plural nicht unterschieden hat."

improbable that two scribes should both independently feel dissatisfied with, for example, the phrase *sišt u k u l b a - s i g* which they found in their originals and independently think up *b a l a - b i b a - k ú r* as the suitable substitute; but we must admit that two scribes who accepted the same norms for correct language (e.g. that the 3d sg. of the transitive verb was *i - n - LAL*, that the plural of personal nouns was *- e - n e*, etc.) would both be very likely to notice deviations from these norms in their originals and to correct them in a similar way (*i - a₅* to *i n - a₅*, *l u g a l* to *l u g a l - e - n e*, etc.). Variants of the latter type, corrections to fixed norms, accordingly give far less certainty that sources in which they occur have inherited them from a common ancestor. They may have been introduced independently by different scribes. The evidence from such variants should therefore be used with great caution and preferably where it has the support of other evidence of more reliable type. And evidence from such variants cannot outweigh that of unintentional variants or variants due to idiosyncrasy if these point in a different direction.

On a par with the variants due to the application of grammatical rules is the use of the singular form of the verb in the manuscripts from Elam. The background of this variant, limited knowledge of Sumerian subject to influence from the undercurrents of a native language which does not stress the distinction between plural and singular in the verb, can be presupposed in most Elamite copyists. We can consider it probable that two such scribes would independently decide to disregard the difference between *i - a₅* and *i b - a₅*, which they did not understand.

We are thus in a position to arrange our variants in order according to their relative values as indicators of relationship:

1. Of high value

In formula for change of dynasty:

<i>sišt u k u l b a - s i g</i>	WB, P ₄ , L ₁ , Su ₁ , Su ₃₊₄ , J
<i>b a - g u l</i>	P ₂ (?), Su ₂
<i>b a l a - b i b a - k ú r</i>	P ₅ , S
omitted	K

2. Of unknown value

In formula for dynasty total:

<i>m u - b i y m u</i>	P ₂ , Su ₁ , Su ₂ , Su ₃₊₄
<i>m u - b i y</i>	WB, P ₆ , L ₁ , S, J
<i>m u y</i>	P ₅ , K

3. Of low value

In formula for dynasty total:

lugal i-a ₅	Su ₁ , Su ₂ , Su ₃₊₄
lugal i b - a ₅	WB, P ₂ , P ₆ , L ₁ , J(?)
lugal-e-ne....in-a-k-eš		P ₅ , S
lugal-e-ne....in-a ₅ -m-e-eš		K

In formula for introducing single rulers:

i - a ₅	WB, P ₂ , P ₃ , P ₄ , P ₆ , L ₁ , L ₂ , Su ₁ , Su ₂ , Su ₃₊₄ , G, J
i n - a ₅	P ₅ , S, K

In formula for introducing single rulers:

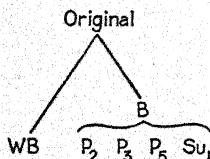
mu x	WB, P ₅ , K, J
x mu	P ₂ , P ₃ , P ₄ , P ₆ , L ₁ , L ₂ , S, Su ₁ , Su ₂ , Su ₃₊₄ , G

We may proceed to consider these groupings of the manuscripts in conjunction with those at which we arrived on the basis of the Atabba and Agade variants.

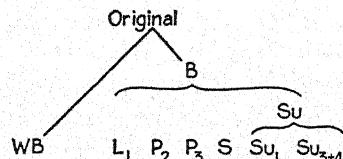
GENEALOGICAL TABLE BASED ON THE FOREGOING VARIANTS

The Atabba variants and the variants in the reigns of the Agade rulers showed that the manuscripts involved derive from the original as follows:

ATABBA VARIANTS



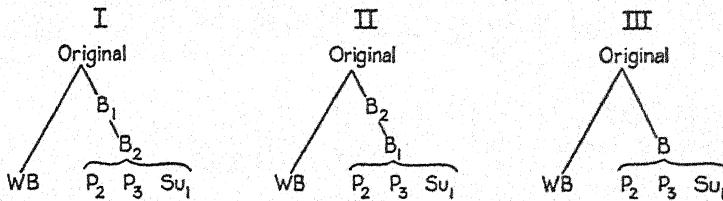
AGADE VARIANTS



In both cases we found on one side the source WB representing the original fairly closely and on the other a text which we called "B," in which one or more errors had been committed. Through this text the remainder of the sources descended. Although we have called the erroneous text "B" in both cases it is clear that the Atabba mistake and the Rimush mistake need not necessarily have happened in the very same copy. We should therefore make a distinction and—admitting that the two texts *may* be identical—designate the text in which the Atabba mistake was made as "B₁" and that in which the Rimush mistake was made as "B₂."

Comparing our two diagrams we see that, even if we suppose that B₁ and B₂ were different texts, they must at least have belonged to the same line of descent from the original, B₁ having derived from B₂ or vice versa. This fol-

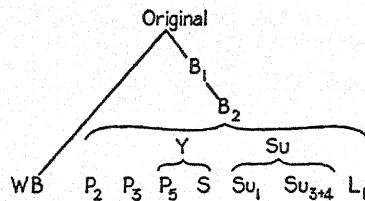
lows from the fact that three of our manuscripts, P_2 , P_3 , and Su_1 , exhibit the errors of both B_1 and B_2 , which presupposes that the line along which they descended from the original passed through both these texts. We have accordingly only three possibilities to take into account:



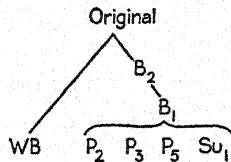
We may investigate these one after another to see how each will influence the relative positions of the manuscripts involved.

Assuming first that Possibility I is correct, we can place the manuscripts L_1 , P_2 , P_3 , S , Su_1 , and Su_{3+4} below the brace, because we know from the Agade diagram that they derive from B_2 . This leaves P_5 , which occurs in the Atabba diagram. Since this version is only known to be derived from B_1 , there is a priori the possibility that it branched off directly after it had passed this text and did not follow the others on their way through B_2 . In reality, however, that cannot have been the case, as is shown by variants in the formulas. In the formula for change of dynasty the form $\text{si}^{\text{st}} \text{t u k u l b a - s i g}$ is found in WB, in texts which have passed B_1 , such as Su_1 , and in texts which have passed B_2 , such as Su_1 and L_1 . Being thus represented in both main branches of the tradition (WB and the B texts), $\text{si}^{\text{st}} \text{t u k u l b a - s i g}$ obviously must be the form used by the original. The variants $b a - g u l$ and $b a l a - b i b a - k \acute{u} r$, which occur only in texts derived from B_1 and B_2 , must thus have arisen later. Now our text P_5 (which derives from B_1) has the variant $b a l a - b i b a - k \acute{u} r$; this it shares with one other text, S , which descends from B_2 . Since this is one of our "reliable" variants (see pp. 40 f.), we may conclude that P_5 and S derived it from a common ancestor, which we shall call "Y." This conclusion is corroborated by another, in itself less reliable, variant, $l u g a l - e - n e \dots i n - a k - e \check{s}$, which also is peculiar to S and P_5 and which similarly indicates that these two sources passed through one or more ancestors peculiar to them alone. Y must, of course, be placed farther down in the line of descent than B_1 and B_2 , for, as we have seen, other texts which have passed B_1 and B_2 (such as Su_1 and L_1) have retained the original $\text{si}^{\text{st}} \text{t u k u l b a - s i g}$. If Y is to be placed after B_2 , then naturally P_5 , which derives from Y, also must be placed after B_2 and cannot have swerved off after B_1 .

If Possibility I is the correct one, that is, if B_1 and B_2 are different texts and B_2 derived from B_1 , the manuscripts with which we have here been dealing must accordingly descend from the original as follows:



We may next look at Possibility II, which, like Possibility I, presupposes that B_1 and B_2 are different but which has B_1 derived from B_2 . If this possibility is the correct one, we can obviously place the manuscripts P_2 , P_3 , P_5 , and Su_1 under the brace, because the Atabba diagram shows that these derive from B_1 :



With the sources S , Su_{3+4} , and L_1 , however, we must reckon with the possibility that they did not follow the others, for they are only known to derive from B_2 and so may have swerved off directly after that text without passing B_1 . It is therefore necessary to examine these cases more closely.

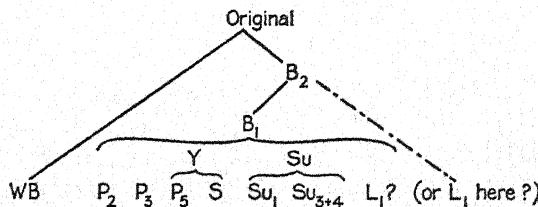
(1) S . We have just seen that the source P_5 can be placed under the brace below B_1 and must therefore have passed both B_2 and B_1 in its descent from the original. When we discussed Possibility I we saw, too, that P_5 and S must have a common ancestor or series of ancestors (Y) peculiar to them, in which their characteristic variants *ba la - bi ba - k ú r* and *l u g a l - e - n e . . . i n - a k - e š* arose. It was clear, furthermore, that Y must be sought farther down in P_5 's line of descent than B_2 and B_1 , for as late as in B_1 the change to *ba la - bi ba - k ú r* which is characteristic for Y has not yet happened, as is shown by the fact that Su_1 , which also has passed through both B_2 and B_1 , preserves the original *síst u k u l b a - s ì g* intact. If Y is farther down the line than B_1 , however, S , which derives from Y , must also be farther down than B_1 and therefore cannot have swerved off after B_2 .

(2) Su_{3+4} . When we discussed the variants in the reigns of the Agade rulers

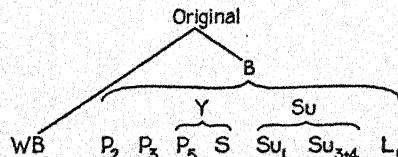
we saw that Su_1 and Su_{3+4} must have had a common ancestor (Su) which had a lacuna at the end of the Agade dynasty (p. 25). We know also that Su_1 has passed through both B_2 and B_1 . But did Su come before or after B_1 in the line of descent of Su_1 ? The question is easily answered because P_2 , in which the total for the Agade dynasty indicates that nothing was missing, derives from B_1 , which must likewise have preserved this dynasty intact. Su, the text with the lacuna, must therefore follow B_1 in the line of descent of Su_1 , and Su's other descendant, Su_{3+4} , cannot have swerved off after B_2 .

(3) L_1 . With this text the material at our disposal does not permit us to decide whether it followed the other sources through B_1 or whether it swerved off immediately after it had passed B_2 . We must therefore leave the question open.

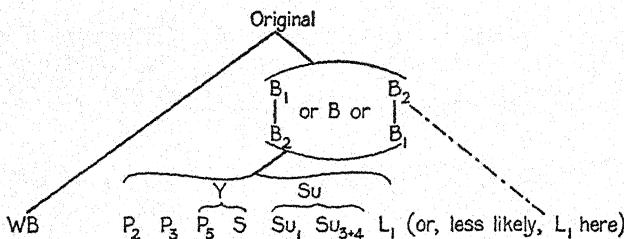
We have seen that six of our manuscripts— P_2 , P_3 , P_5 , S , Su_1 , and Su_{3+4} —must have descended through both B_2 and B_1 if Possibility II is the correct one. As for L_1 , we are unable to decide whether it followed the others or branched off after B_2 . The derivation of the manuscripts would therefore be as follows:



Lastly there is Possibility III. If this is correct, B_1 and B_2 are only different names of the same text, which we may designate as "B." Since B_1 and B_2 are here identical we can obviously place all the manuscripts derived from B_1 in the Atabba diagram and from B_2 in the Agade diagram below the brace, that is, P_2 , P_3 , P_5 , S , Su_1 , Su_{3+4} , and L_1 . The reasons which made us assume a common ancestor for P_5 and S (Y) and a common ancestor for Su_1 and Su_{3+4} (Su) are naturally not affected by the identification of B_1 and B_2 . The derivation of our manuscripts according to Possibility III is therefore:



Comparing the diagrams for our three possibilities we see that they lead to practically the same results. In all three cases the sources P_2 , P_3 , P_5 , S , Su_1 , and Su_{3+4} must have descended through both B_1 and B_2 ; only L_1 may, if the second possibility should be correct and B_1 derive from B_2 , have taken a different course, swerving off directly after B_2 , but it is not necessary that it should have done so. The chances that L_1 descended through both B_1 and B_2 are three out of four. Since the various possibilities lead to almost the same result, we can draw up a single diagram which accounts for them all:



The foregoing diagram is based upon the material presented by the Atabba variants, the variants in the reigns of the Agade rulers, and a variation in the formula for change of dynasty which can be considered absolutely reliable, the variation between *rist u k u l b a - s i g* and *b a l a - b i b a - k u r*.

This obviously does not exhaust the information which can be gained from the variants in the formulas; for, although we must place the variants "of low value" apart as unsuitable, we still have left the *b a - g u l* variant and also the variant *m u - b i y m u : m u - b i y : m u y* in the formula for dynasty total, which for all we know may be of high value and which can therefore be used if we exercise due caution.

The variant *b a - g u l* in the formula for change of dynasty occurs in Su_2 and seems for reasons of space the only possible restoration of the broken formula in P_2 : *b a - []*.⁹³ Since the variant occurs in no other texts and is not of the type likely to originate independently, we may conclude that Su_2 and P_2 had a common ancestor in which the change to *b a - g u l* was made and from which they inherited it.

Unfortunately this conclusion cannot be drawn with full certainty. Among the variants in the formulas is one, the use of the singular verb form *i - a₅* in the formula for dynasty total, which is peculiar to the sources from Elam (Su_1 , Su_2 , and Su_{3+4}) and suggests that Su_2 should be grouped with Su_1 and

⁹³ In the best preserved passage, iii 17, there is room for only one sign after *b a -*. Poebel's reading - *m a* instead of - *b a* (*PBS IV 1*, p. 76) is not consistent with his copy; see p. 31, n. 59.

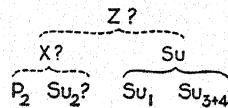
Su_{3+4} rather than with P_2 . This variant is listed with those "of low value," and we have shown above (pp. 40-41) that it depends upon qualities which may be presupposed in any Elamite scribe, so that it may well have originated independently in two texts. Normally, therefore, its evidence would be of no consequence compared to that of the $ba-gul$ variant, which belongs to our most reliable type. In the present case, however, there is reason to mention it; for the fact that $ba-gul$ is only partly preserved in P_2 and has to be restored introduces an element of uncertainty which is naturally stressed when we find that the $i-a_5$ variant, though admittedly of doubtful value, points away from the combination $\overbrace{P_2 \quad Su_2}$. Since this grouping $\overbrace{P_2 \quad Su_2}$ depends wholly upon the restoration of $ba-gul$ in P_2 , we can accept it only with reserve and as a tentative solution. Calling the supposed common original "X," we may express the element of uncertainty by adding a query after X and by using a dotted brace:

$\overbrace{X? \quad}$
 $\overbrace{P_2 \quad Su_2}$

In our larger diagram X must be placed under the brace below B_1 and B_2 , for we know that P_2 passed through these texts and also that in them the original $\text{šit u k u l } ba-sig$ had not yet been changed to $ba-gul$.

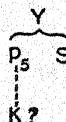
Another variant of interest is $mu-bi\ y\ mu : mu-bi\ y : mu\ y$ in the formula for dynasty total. The form $mu-bi\ y$ occurs in WB, P_6 , L_1 , and S. Comparing our main diagram we see that through these sources it is represented in both of the principal branches of the tradition and must therefore be the form used in the original. The form $mu-bi\ y\ mu$ occurs in P_2 , Su_1 , Su_2 , and Su_{3+4} . Assuming that the manuscripts mentioned inherited this variant from a single text, we must obviously place that text, which we may call "Z," higher up in the genealogical table than Su , from which as we have seen above Su_1 and Su_{3+4} derive, and than X, which we have just postulated as the immediate ancestor of P_2 and Su_2 . The text Su is characterized among other things by a lacuna at the end of the Agade dynasty. But this lacuna cannot yet have existed in Z, for P_2 , which also derives from Z, appears to have had the Agade dynasty intact. The lacuna must therefore have originated between Z and the two texts which have it, Su_1 and Su_{3+4} . Similarly X, which is characterized by the change from $\text{šit u k u l } ba-sig$ to $ba-gul$, must be placed between Z and $\overbrace{P_2 \quad Su_2}$ which have this change; that Z itself must still have had the original $\text{šit u k u l } ba-sig$ is shown

by the fact that Su_1 and Su_{3+4} , which also derive from it, preserve that form unchanged. Acknowledging by queries and dotted lines that the value of our variant is unknown and that we therefore cannot trust it implicitly, we may draw up the diagram



In the main diagram Z must be placed under the brace below B_1 and B_2 ; for, since a source such as S , which derives through both these texts, has inherited the original $m u - b i \ y$, the change to $m u - b i \ y \ m u$ must have happened later than B_1 and B_2 .

Lastly there is the form $m u \ y$, which is peculiar to the two sources K and P_5 . In other respects also K shows close affinity to P_5 . As will be remembered, K omits the formula for change of dynasty but gives the formula for dynasty total as $x \ lug al - e - ne \ bala \ A^{ki} \ m u \ y \ i n - a_5 - m e - e \ š$. This stands completely alone among our formulas but looks more than anything else as if a later scribe had tried to compress into a single formula the data given by the formulas for change of dynasty and for dynasty total as these appear in P_5 : $A^{ki} \ bala - b i \ b a - a n - k ú r \ n a m - lug al - b i \ B^{ki} - š è \ b a - t ú m$ and $x \ lug al - e - ne \ m u \ y \ i n - a k - e \ š$. The words $bala \ A^{ki}$ were grafted from the formula for change of dynasty, and $x \ lug al - e - ne \dots m u \ y \ i n - a_5 - m e - e \ š$ is the formula for dynasty total of P_5 except that $i n - a k - e \ š$ has been changed to $i n - a_5 - m e - e \ š$, which was considered a better form in late times.⁹⁴ When we consider the agreement on the variant $m u \ y$ in conjunction with the fact that on the whole the singular formula of K stands nearer P_5 than any other text, we may be justified in placing K , at least provisionally, as a late offshoot of P_5 :



We have now considered all the variants from the formulas except those listed as "of low value," variants too unsafe to serve as basis for any conclu-

⁹⁴ See Poebel, *GSG* § 456. That the formulas of K are related to those of older lists was noted by Poebel in *OLZ* XV (1912) 293.

sions. We might therefore stop here. As it happens, however, there is among the variants "of low value" a single one which deserves closer attention because its evidence can be supported in a rather curious manner.

If we would group our sources strictly according to the formulas which they use we would find only three cases in which two sources have an almost identical set of formulas, namely $\overbrace{\text{WB}}_{\text{J}}, \overbrace{\text{L}_1}_{\text{P}_4}$, and $\overbrace{\text{Su}_1}_{\text{Su}_{3+4}}$. The group which interests us here is $\overbrace{\text{WB}}_{\text{J}}$, which has the formulas $\text{A}^{\text{ki}} \text{gi}^{\text{st}} \text{tukul}$ ba-sig (WB: ba-an-sig) , $\text{x lugal mu-bi y fb-a}_5$, and N. mu x i-a_5 . Although WB and J are alike in all three formulas, the crucial point upon which the grouping rests is in reality the variant mu x in the formula for introducing single rulers, for only by using mu x instead of x mu do WB and J stand apart from such sources as L_1 and P_4 as a separate group. As this variant belongs to a type which gives little safety (cf. p. 42), we cannot accept the grouping from its evidence alone. Comparing the two texts WB and J we notice, however, that not only are the formulas the same in both but also the arrangement of the text corresponds. The beginning and end of the tablet upon which J is written are preserved. The text begins $[\text{ki-su-lu-u b}_4-\text{gar}] \text{ gu-ti-u m}^{\text{ki}} \text{gi}^{\text{st}} \text{tukul ba-sig}$, and at this same point begins col. viii in WB: $\text{ki-su-lu-u b}_4-\text{gar g}[\text{u-ti} (?) - \text{u m}^{\text{ki}} \text{gi}^{\text{st}} \text{tukul ba-an-sig}]$. The last two lines of J, $\text{n a m-lugal-bi [i]-si-in}^{\text{ki}}-\text{še ba-túm}$, appear as line 22 in WB, almost exactly at the middle of the column, which has 45 lines.⁹⁵ We must therefore assume that J was written on tablets each of which took exactly half a column in WB and every second one of which began at the same place in the text as WB's columns. Such close correspondence in arrangement is not found between any other two texts among our sources⁹⁶ and can hardly be accidental. Apparently the scribes who wrote J and WB copied from the same text and took care to base their arrangement of the text in tablets or columns upon that used in this original, so that they did not run the risk of coming out with a final tablet or column which had only a few lines of writing.

Considering the fact that WB and J use the same set of formulas in con-

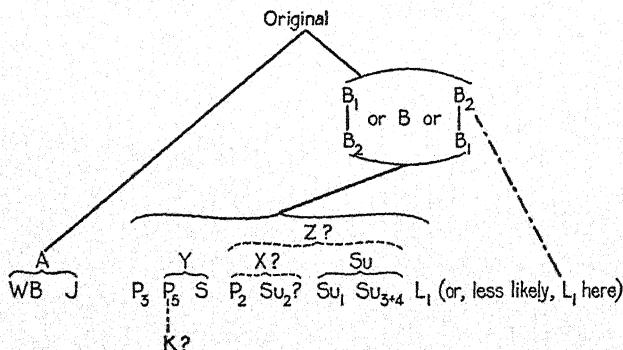
⁹⁵ Mrs. Brookens calls my attention to the fact that the copyist who wrote WB omitted the words $\text{gi}^{\text{st}} \text{tukul ba-an-sig}$ after viii 1 (cf. p. 30, n. 52). Had the scribe not jumped a line here, this column of WB would have had 46 lines and the phrase with which J ends would have appeared as line 23, i.e., *exactly* at the middle of the column.

⁹⁶ Su_3 and Su_4 are no exception. As we have shown above (p. 10, n. 24), the correspondence in arrangement indicates in that case that the two fragments are parts of the same document.

junction with the striking similarity in the way they have distributed the text, we are justified in assuming that they derive from a common ancestor. We may call this ancestor "A" and get the diagram



We may now proceed to add the various new items of information to our main diagram. With the exception of the last, however, the derivation of J and WB from a common ancestor A, these new groupings cannot be considered final, because our evidence has not permitted us to exclude a small element of uncertainty. Since it is of importance to be able to ascertain at a glance which parts of the diagram are absolutely certain and which might still give reason for doubt, we have indicated the latter by means of queries and dotted lines. If the reader imagines the dotted lines and the queried texts blotted out, the remaining diagram will represent what we know with certainty.



SUPPLEMENTARY EVIDENCE FROM VARIANTS OF MORE LIMITED SCOPE

The establishing of the main lines of the genealogical table should make it possible to utilize for confirmation and new details variants of more limited scope than those hitherto considered. We possess several such variants, for which some four or five manuscripts can be compared, and we must accordingly examine them to see whether they contain evidence of value.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY OF URUK

We have called attention earlier (pp. 25-26) to the fact that su_1 and su_{3+4} both give incomplete accounts of the Agade dynasty, suggesting that they

derive from a common ancestor in which the last part of the Agade dynasty had been damaged. We mentioned also that the conclusion that Su_1 and Su_{3+4} derive from a common damaged ancestor could be made with absolute certainty because the Agade dynasty is not the only passage in which they give evidence of common lacunas. Such a case is the 4th dynasty of Uruk. The account of this dynasty is wholly preserved in WB and S. It contained five rulers: Ur-niġin(ak), Ur-gigir(ak) the son of Ur-niġin(ak), Kudda, Puzur-ili, and Ur-Utu(k). WB gives the total of the reigns as 30 years, S as 26, corresponding to the fact that according to WB Ur-niġin(ak) reigned 7 years, according to S only 3. P_4 , in which only the total is preserved, also gives 26 years; so we may assume that it had the same account of the dynasty as S.

Quite different is the account which Su_1 and Su_{3+4} give. Both these texts begin like the others with Ur-niġin(ak) and Ur-gigir(ak), but then they stop. Su_{3+4} passes directly to Ur-Utu(k) and the dynasty total, inserting a line to say that Ur-Utu(k) was son of Ur-gigir(ak). Su_1 lists an otherwise unknown king lug a l - m e - l á m , who is similarly stated to be son of Ur-gigir(ak). The reigns given by Su_1 and Su_{3+4} differ considerably from those of the other texts. Su_{3+4} gives Ur-niġin(ak) 15 years, Ur-gigir(ak) 7, and Ur-Utu(k) 25. The figures 15 and 7 reappear in Su_1 , but as the reigns of Ur-gigir(ak) and the new king lug a l - m e - l á m , while Ur-niġin(ak) according to that text reigned 30 years.

To follow in detail the genesis of these complicated variants is hardly possible for the present, but so much seems clear: The original from which Su_{3+4} derives had a lacuna in the middle of the dynasty wiping out Kudda and Puzur-ili, so that the copyist had to pass from Ur-gigir(ak) directly to Ur-Utu(k); and this same lacuna existed in the original of Su_1 , but there it had widened still more, so that the name of Ur-Utu(k) also had become illegible. The curious restoration lug a l - m e - l á m is probably taken from a still more damaged parallel text of Y type. In the damaged total 5 lug a l - e - n e (五 lug a l - e - n e) the scribe has thought to recognize a proper name, lug a l - m e (!) - l á m (lug a l - m e - l á m).⁹⁷

If it was already highly improbable that two copies of the King List both damaged at exactly the same spot, namely in the Agade dynasty, existed in Elam, it becomes definitely impossible to imagine them damaged *twice* by accident and *both times* damaged at exactly corresponding passages. Our variant is therefore decisive evidence that Su_1 and Su_{3+4} derive from the same ancestor.

⁹⁷ On the use of more than one text in copying see pp. 53-55.

THE INTERREGNUM IN THE AGADE PERIOD

The section dealing with the interregnum after Shar-kali-sharrī is preserved more or less completely in five manuscripts: WB, P₃, L₁, S, and Su₃₊₄:

WB	S
[a-ba-àm lu]gal a-ba-àm nu lugal	a-ba-à [m lugal a-ba-àm nu lugal]
[- g i ₄] - g i ₄	lugal ^m i - g i ₄ - g i ₄ [l] ug [a l] ^m i - m i [l] ug al
[] lugal	lugal ^m na-nu-um lugal ^m i - lu - lu lugal
[] lugal	lugal 4 - bi 3 mu in - a ₅
[] lugal	lugal
[] lugal	lugal
[] ⁱ b - a ₅	
Su ₃₊₄	
a - b a lug al	[m]a-nu-um šär
a - b a lug al - à m	ma-nu-um la šä[r]
ir - g i ₄ - g i ₄ lug al	i-gi ₄ -gi ₄ šär
na - nu - um lug al	i-mi šär
i - mi lug al	na-ni šär
i - lu - lu lug al	e-lu-lu šär
[] lug al	4 - bi 3 mu ⁱ b - a ₅ []
[]	

Disregarding those variants which appear in only a single manuscript and which are therefore of no help in grouping the manuscripts, we notice (1) that the Sumerian phrase a-ba-àm lug al a-ba-àm nu lug al of WB, S, and—*mutatis mutandis*—Su₃₊₄ varies with the Akkadian *ma-nu-um* šär *ma-nu-um* la šär of P₃ and L₁; (2) that the order of the rulers, which is Irgigi, Nanum, Imi, Ilulu in Su₃₊₄ and L₁, is Igigi, Imi, Nani, Elulu in P₃ and S; (3) that the name of the first ruler is written *ir-ki-ki* or *ir - g i₄ - g i₄* in L₁ and Su₃₊₄ but *i*- or *i - g i₄ - g i₄* in P₃ and S; and (4) that the total in WB and Su₃₊₄ contains the word lug al, whereas S and P₃ do not have that word. If we arrange the variants successively it will be seen that their distribution among the manuscripts is peculiar:

ab am lug al ab am nu lug al WB Su ₃₊₄ S	manum šar manum la šar P ₃ L ₁
Irgigi, Nanum, Imi, Ilulu	Su ₃₊₄ L ₁ Igigi, Imi, Nani, Elulu P ₃ S
ir - g i ₄ / k i - g i ₄ / k i	Su ₃₊₄ L ₁ i / i - g i ₄ - g i ₄ P ₃ S
[4 - bi (?)] lug al [m u 3 / 3 m u]	
ⁱ b / [l] - a ₅	WB Su ₃₊₄ 4 - bi 3 mu ⁱ b / in - a ₅ P ₃ S

We notice here that L₁ and S suddenly change places when we pass from the first variant to the others. In the ab am : *manum* variant S follows

Su_{3+4} and differs from L_1 , which follows P_3 ; in the following variants, however, S follows P_3 , and it is L_1 which follows Su_{3+4} .

Such a distribution of the variants cannot possibly have developed through normal transmission. To explain it we must assume either that one of our variants arose independently in two or more manuscripts or that the scribe of one of them used two different texts as originals for his copy. An example may elucidate the latter possibility. If the line a b a m l u g a l a b a m n u l u g a l was destroyed in the original of L_1 and the copyist restored it from another text in his possession, a text of the same type as P_3 , we can understand how L_1 might follow P_3 as far as this variant is concerned but differ from it already in the next line. It is, however, equally possible that it was the section containing the three following variants which was destroyed in the original of L_1 and that the scribe restored it from a text like Su_{3+4} . There is thus a variety of ways in which this distribution of variants may have come about: independent origin of two or more variants, restoration of one or another section from texts of different type, etc. Which of the many possibilities is the correct one cannot be decided; and, as the evidence of this section must remain ambiguous, we cannot use it with safety for the reconstruction of the genealogical table.

THE $Ku(g)$ -BABA VARIANT

Queen $Ku(g)$ -Baba of Kish constitutes a separate dynasty in manuscripts WB , L_1 , P_2 , and Su_1 , whereas she is placed at the head of the 4th dynasty of Kish in S and Su_{3+4} . Several indications show that the arrangement with $Ku(g)$ -Baba as a separate dynasty is that of the original. It is—to mention only one such indication—vouched for in both branches of our tradition.⁹⁸ The variant which places $Ku(g)$ -Baba at the head of the 4th dynasty of Kish must therefore be secondary. Since the 4th dynasty of Kish begins with $Puzur-Sin$, a king stated to be the son of $Ku(g)$ -Baba, our variant was no doubt introduced by a scribe who considered it impossible to separate the reign of $Ku(g)$ -Baba from that of her son by the reign of a complete dynasty of another city. The correction occurs in two of the manuscripts, S and Su_{3+4} , and it is naturally tempting to assume that they have inherited it from a common ancestor. Such an assumption is, however, impossible. We have seen above that a number of identical omissions in Su_1 and Su_{3+4} put it beyond doubt that these sources derive from a common ancestor, which we have called “ Su .” Since Su_1 preserves the original arrangement with $Ku(g)$ -Baba as a separate dynasty, while Su_{3+4} shows the correction, we would obviously have to assume that the cor-

⁹⁸ See also the discussion of this variant on pp. 159 f.

rection was made somewhere between Su and Su₃₊₄. We know, however, that S, which also has the correction, is *not* derived through Su; therefore it cannot derive from a descendant of Su. Hence S and Su₃₊₄ cannot have inherited their correction from a common ancestor, and the distribution of the variant must be due to "double origin"; that is, it was made twice independently, or the scribe who wrote one of the two manuscripts must have used a text of different type along with his original. Both of these explanations are possible. The separation of Ku(g)-Baba from her son is in itself a very curious feature which may well have been noticed and corrected independently by two different scribes. But there are special reasons which make the other possibility even more likely. It will be remembered from the section on formulas that in a single passage in Su₃₊₄ (iii 22-30) the formula for introducing single rulers differs from that used elsewhere in the text. The formula in this passage is N. m u x i - a₅; elsewhere it is N. x m u i - a₅. The variant m u x appears in the other manuscripts only in the A group—WB and J—and in the Y group, in P₅. Its sudden occurrence in a short section of Su₃₊₄ must therefore mean that this section was destroyed in the scribe's original, so that he had to restore from another text—a text of A or of Y type. Now if the scribe of Su₃₊₄ can have consulted a text of Y type along with the one he used as basis for his copy, it seems almost certain that he got his Ku(g)-Baba correction from there; for S—the only Y text which preserves this section—has the variant which places Ku(g)-Baba just before her son.

This Y influence upon Su₃₊₄ we may express in our diagram by means of an arrow. As it is not the only possibility, however, we must draw the arrow in dotted line.

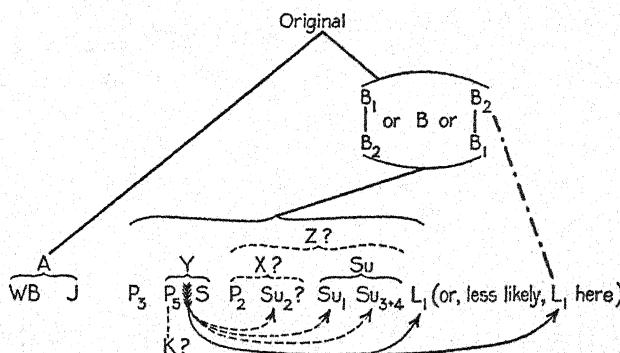
INFLUENCE FROM THE Y GROUP ON SU₁, SU₂, AND L₁

The case just mentioned where we found evidence of influence from texts of one group upon those of another is not the only one of its kind. We have already earlier (p. 51) suggested that the inexplicable lug a l - m e - l á m which Su₁ gives as the name of a ruler in the 4th dynasty of Uruk may be a restoration from a text of Y type in which a broken formula for dynasty total, [x] lug a l - 'e^l - n e , was read as lug a l - m e - l á m and considered a proper name. Since both Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ thus show influence from a Y text, it seems reasonable to assume that our third Susa version also, Su₂, where we can observe foreign influence in the lines (iii 4-5) giving m u x instead of the normal x m u , has been restored with the help of this Y text.

As a last case we may mention L₁, which in viii 4-7 and 20-21 suddenly changes from its usual formula for introducing single rulers, N. x m u i - a₅,

to N. x m u i n - a₅. We must assume here again that the passages in question were damaged in the original which the copyist used as his basis and that he restored them from a second text to which he had access, a text which—as is shown by the variant i n - a₅—must have been of Y type.⁹⁹

With the variants of limited scope investigated above we have considered all the variants in the postdiluvian sections of the King List which can contribute toward the reconstruction of the genealogical table, namely the variants which can be traced over at least four manuscripts. Since the discussion of the problems connected with the antediluvian part of the list needs a section by itself, we may add the results thus far achieved to our diagram:



THE ANTEDILUVIAN SECTION

Four of our manuscripts—P₂, P₃, P₄, and Su₁—contain evidence showing that they began their accounts with the 1st dynasty of Kish, that is, with the first of the postdiluvian dynasties.¹⁰⁰ Seven others—P₆, L₁, L₂, S, Su₂,

⁹⁹ There is some reason to separate the case of Y influence which we find in Su₁, Su₂, and Su_{3,4} from that of L₁. For since Su₁, Su₂, and Su_{3,4} have the same provenience, Susa, and we can hardly assume that imported Babylonian copies of the Sumerian King List were abundant there (cf. p. 25), it seems likely that it is the same Y text which has influenced all our Susa versions. This Y text was no doubt so damaged that it could not be used as a basis for later copies, but it was useful as a help in filling in gaps where the better preserved texts were damaged. We have therefore used two arrows in the diagram, one for the Y influence in L₁ and one for the Y influence in the Susa texts.

¹⁰⁰ The evidence is as follows:

P₂. The summary in col. xii gives only 11 cities of royalty, which agrees with a list beginning with Kish I. Furthermore, the section missing at the top of the tablet can be estimated fairly accurately. Col. i ends with Tizkar, and col. ii begins—after the lacuna—with the formula for change of dynasty referring to the change from Kish I to Uruk I. This lacuna corresponds to 15 lines in WB. In col. i of P₂ the line following Kalibum's regnal years stands opposite the first line preserved in col. ii. Counting 15 lines backward from

Su_{3+4} , and J—are too fragmentary to allow any conclusions as to where they began. Three—WB, K, and P_5 —seem to have had an initial section dealing with antediluvian rulers. This antediluvian section is preserved completely in WB. In K traces of a whole column of rulers before the 1st dynasty of Kish show that this text also must have listed antediluvian rulers.¹⁰¹ P_5 , a fragment which constitutes the lower left-hand corner of a large tablet, begins with the 1st dynasty of Kish, but this dynasty could not appear so far down on the tablet if it was not originally preceded by an antediluvian section.¹⁰² We thus have

with antediluvian section	WB, P_5 , K;
without antediluvian section	P_2 , P_3 , P_4 , Su_1 ;
indefinite	P_6 , L_1 , L_2 , S, Su_2 , Su_{3+4} , J.

There are obviously two possible ways in which this variant and its distribution may have come about: (1) If we assume that the antediluvian section is an original constituent of the King List, its absence in P_2 , P_3 , P_4 , and Su_1 must be due to omissions in these versions or—more likely—to omission in a common ancestor. (2) If we assume that the antediluvian section is second-

this place in WB we arrive at i 41: n a m - l u g a l a n - t a e₁₁ - d è - a - b a , which follows the record of the Deluge. Thus P_2 began with Kish I and had no antediluvian rulers.

P₄. This text likewise counts 11 cities of royalty and accordingly cannot have had any antediluvian rulers.

P₃. Col. i ends with a lacuna after Etana, and col. ii begins after a lacuna with the note on En-me(n)-barage-si. To the missing passages correspond 18 lines in WB. The lacuna at the top of col. i, which goes to [Kalibum], one line lower than the first line preserved in col. ii, can therefore at most have amounted to 19 WB lines; probably it was somewhat less. Counting 19 lines back from Kalibum in WB takes us to the end of the antediluvian kings (i 35), the dynasty total for Shuruppak. In P₃ also there is thus no room for a list of antediluvian rulers.

S_u₄. Col. i ends with Samug before a lacuna. Col. ii begins with the years of En-me(r)-kar. The missing portion corresponds to 29 lines in WB. Opposite the first line in col. ii is Zuqaqip in col. i; but, since the position of Atab and Atabba is different in WB as compared with S_u₁, it is better to count from Arwi^{um}, who stands opposite the years of Lugalbanda. The lacuna is then 31 WB lines. Counting back 31 lines from Arwi^{um} in WB takes us only to the end of the dynasty of Sippar (WB i 30). Thus even if col. i in S_u₄ had ended at Samug, so that all that is missing had to be restored at the top of the tablet, we would not have room enough for the antediluvian section. This text also must accordingly have started with Kish I.

¹⁰¹ This conclusion was drawn already by King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt*, p. 31, n. 4

¹⁰² See the drawing of the fragment in PBS V, Pl. IV, and photograph in BE XX 1, Pl. XV. Considering that the tablet originally had two columns on each side, making it twice as broad as the fragment which is left, we must, to get reasonable dimensions, suppose that it was at least twice as high as the fragment.

ary,¹⁰³ a later addition to the King List, its occurrence in WB, P₅, and K must be due to independent insertion in WB and in P₅, from which K would then inherit it; for, since any common ancestor of WB and P₅ must also have been an ancestor of P₂, P₃, and Su₁, WB and P₅ cannot have inherited the section from such a text.

Neither of the two main possibilities here mentioned seems a priori more probable than the other. As for the first we may, it is true, doubt that any scribe would voluntarily omit a section which "handed down the tradition relating to (things) prediluvian."¹⁰⁴ Such precious information is not willingly left out.¹⁰⁵ But the omission need not have been voluntary. Clay is brittle writing material, and a copyist may very well have found this section so seriously damaged in his original that he had no choice but to begin his copy with the postdiluvian rulers. As for the second possibility, that the antediluvian section is secondary, it is obvious that the exceptional interest of the section would strongly favor its insertion. Any copyist who did not find the antediluvian rulers mentioned in his original of the King List but knew of them from elsewhere must have felt a natural impulse to round off his account of bygone dynasties by adding such important information to his copy.

Since both possibilities thus seem equally probable, we must examine the antediluvian section itself more closely to see if it contains any clues which will decide the question. The first thing to be noted is the curious and significant independence which characterizes this section in contrast to all the rest of the list. The other sections are true parts of the King List, do not appear outside it, and have existence as parts of that composition only. Not so with the tradition concerning the antediluvian rulers. This part has an individuality of its own; it is not tied to the King List but can be found in the literature of

¹⁰³ This seems to be the view of King, who was aware of the existence of this section in K and of its absence in some of the Nippur fragments. He does not discuss the question in detail, but his opinion may be inferred from his suggestion that "the exclusion of the Antediluvian period from the list may perhaps be explained on the assumption that its compiler confined his record to 'kingdoms,' and that the mythical rulers who preceded them did not form a 'kingdom' within his definition of the term" (*loc. cit.*). Note, however, that the form which the antediluvian section takes in WB speaks of the "kingdoms" of the various antediluvian cities.

¹⁰⁴ R. Campbell Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish. A New Translation . . .* (London, 1928) p. 916.

¹⁰⁵ The keen interest which the ancients took in antediluvian matters may be seen from the line of the Gilgames epic just quoted. Cf. also Ashurbanipal's occupation with reading "stones from the time before the Deluge" (M. Streck, *Assurbanipal II* ["Vorderasiatische Bibliothek" VII 2 (Leipzig, 1916)] 256:18; D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia II* [Chicago, 1927] § 986).

the period as a separate entity or even as part of a composition other than the King List. As a separate entity the antediluvian tradition appears on Tablet W-B 62, published by Langdon.¹⁰⁶ This tablet gives the list of antediluvian kings very much as does WB, but it is there unconnected with lists of other rulers and has individual features which show that it is not merely a section of the King List gone astray.¹⁰⁷ Chief among these is a complete absence of the formulas so characteristic of the King List proper.

Of still greater interest is it to find our tradition as part of another literary composition. As No. 1 of his *Historical and Grammatical Texts*¹⁰⁸ Poebel has published a Sumerian epic which deals with the beginning of the world, and there can be no doubt that a very close connection exists between this epic and the antediluvian tradition as we have it in WB. The epic¹⁰⁹ describes in the first column the creation of men and animals; then, after a lacuna, col. ii proceeds to relate the descent of kingship from heaven:

[m e] n n a m - l u g a l - l a a n - t a e₁₁ - d [è (?)] - a - b a
 [g₁₂] s i b i r g i₁₃ u - z a₁₄ n a m - l u g a l - l a a n - t a e₁₁ - a - b a

"when the crown of kingship was lowered from heaven,¹¹⁰
 when the scepter and the throne of kingship were lowered from heaven,"

and the founding of five cities, which are mentioned in the order Eridu(g), Bad-tibira(k), Larak, Sippar, Shuruppak. After a new lacuna col. iii begins the story of the Deluge, which, interrupted by lacunas, continues through cols. iii-iv. The end of the Deluge is related in col. v in the following words:

a - m a - r u u - g ù k a b - d u g₄ - g a b a - a n - d a - a b - ù r - e
 u₄ 7 - à m g i₆ 7 - à m
 a - m a - r u k a l a m - m a b a - ù r - r a - t a

¹⁰⁶ *OECT* II, Pl. VI, and *JRAS*, 1923, p. 256. See also Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III (1924) 20, who dates the tablet correctly to the end of the 3d millennium B.C. and shows convincingly that it is written in Sumerian.

¹⁰⁷ The reigns of the kings listed differ considerably in length from those given by the antediluvian section of WB; WB gives only Ubar-Tutu(k) as ruler of Shuruppak, whereas W-B 62 has Shuruppak(-gi) and Zi-u-sud-ra; W-B 62 has an antediluvian dynasty of Larsa which WB does not give; Eridu(g) of WB appears as Ku^a(ra) in W-B 62; etc. See also S. Smith, *EHA*, pp. 20f., who similarly stresses the independence of W-B 62: "The scribe of the second list did not therefore take the first list and wilfully alter it, simply to glorify his own city"; but cf. our reservations to details in Smith's view stated below, p. 71, n. 17.

¹⁰⁸ *PBS* V.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Poebel's translation and commentary in *PBS* IV 1, pp. 9-70, and King's discussion of the text in *Legends of Babylon and Egypt*, pp. 41-101.

¹¹⁰ There is no necessity to render a n - t a as "from Anu," as Deimel proposes in *Orientalia* No. 17 (1925) p. 35, instead of "from heaven."

"The Deluge sweeps at the same time over the . . . s.¹¹¹
 After the Deluge had swept over the land
 for seven days and seven nights,"

and the tablet ends with the tale of Zi-u-sud-ra's sacrifices and how he was made immortal.

The close relation of this account to that of WB is obvious. WB begins with the phrase

[n a m] - l u g a l a n - t a e₁₁ - d è - a - b a
 "when the kingship was lowered from heaven,"

goes on to describe the antediluvian dynasties in the order Eridu(g), Bad-tibira(k), Larak, Sippar, Shuruppak, and ends:

a - m a - r u b a - ù r RA TA¹¹²
 e g i r a - m a - r u b a - ù r - r a - t a
 "The Deluge swept.
 After the Deluge had swept."

As will be seen, the ideas in these two texts—(1) the kingship being lowered from heaven (WB: [n a m] - l u g a l a n - t a e₁₁ - d è - a - b a; PBS V, No. 1: [] n a m - l u g a l - l a a n - t a e₁₁ - d [è (?)] - a - b a), (2) the identical order of the primeval cities, and (3) the raging of the Deluge (WB: a - m a - r u b a - ù r; PBS V, No. 1: a - m a - r u . . . b a - a n - d a - a b - ù r - e)—are very much the same, follow in the same succession, and are expressed in almost identical language.¹¹³

That the tradition concerning the antediluvian rulers can thus be shown to exist as a separate entity outside the King List, appearing either by itself or

¹¹¹ The word k a b - d u g₄ - g a is still not certainly explained. Poebel (PBS IV 1, p. 41) thinks it is an epithet of the Deluge-demon and in ii 21 translates it as denoting the gods to whom the antediluvian cities were assigned. Poebel is followed by King, who (*Legends of Babylon and Egypt*, pp. 58 f.) tentatively translates "divine rulers." Deimel (*loc. cit.*) translates "Kultort"; and this rendering, which suits the context perfectly, is probably correct, even though Deimel's reasons for it, "k a b - d ú (g) = k a + š u (arch. 'k a b') = *ikribu*, *kardbu*," carry little conviction.

¹¹² The signs RA TA here are obviously dittography from b a - ù r - r a - t a in the next line.

¹¹³ The close correspondence in wording indicates that we are dealing with literary dependency and not with different records of a common oral tradition. It is true that the epic in its present dilapidated condition does not contain a passage giving the exact information which we should expect on that assumption. It has names and order of the cities but lacks names, order, and reigns of the antediluvian rulers. That a passage containing this information once stood in the large lacuna covering the upper half or more of col. iii is, however, highly probable. Col. ii ends with the allotment of the antediluvian cities. Where, after the lacuna, the preserved part of col. iii takes up the narrative, Enlil has decided to send a Deluge, and the gods are troubled. Of the passage which once bridged this gap we must therefore expect that it continued the subject begun in col. ii, telling who ruled these antediluvian cities, and then gave the reasons for Enlil's decision to wipe out mankind with the

as part of an epic, naturally raises the question of where its original setting should be sought. The answer is not difficult to find. In the epic the god Enki plays a most conspicuous role. He is mentioned with Enlil and Ninhursag as creator of mankind, and he is indisputably the hero of the following Deluge story, for it is through his activity alone that mankind is saved. We can therefore safely conclude that the epic hails from Eridu(g), the chief city of Enki, and draws on its mythical lore. Toward Eridu(g) points also the tradition of the antediluvian rulers as we have it both in WB and in the epic, for in both versions Eridu(g) is given the place of honor at the top of the list as the foremost antediluvian royal city.¹¹⁴ The tradition therefore fits into the epic hand-in-glove, and we cannot doubt that its original setting should be sought in the lore of Eridu(g) and not in the King List.

We have thus found that the original setting of the antediluvian tradition

Deluge. And such a passage actually exists. Dr. Geers has discovered in the British Museum a fragment of Assyrian date (K 11624) which, like our conjectural passage, begins with an account of the antediluvian cities, rulers, and reigns and then goes on with lines of an epic nature apparently dealing with the reasons that made Enlil send the Deluge. (The lines mention Enlil and *hubūru*, "noise," recalling the similar passage in the Atar-hasis story, ingeniously restored by Sidney Smith [RA XXII (1925) 67 f.], which states that it was the noise [*hubūru*] of the humans that kept Enlil awake and made him send the Deluge to restore peace and quiet.) These lines, with which the fragment breaks off, lead up to exactly the situation found where col. iii of PBS V, No. 1, is preserved: Enlil has decided to send the Deluge, but his decision is as yet known only to the gods. In view of the exceptional ease with which the fragment thus fits into the gap in the narrative of PBS V, No. 1, it seems indeed more than likely that it represents a late version with interlinear translation of this very epic. Since the gap in epic PBS V, No. 1, may thus plausibly be restored from the fragment and since the fragment contains the very information wanted, there is no reason to doubt the existence of literary dependency between the epic and the King List (WB). What form this dependency may have taken is discussed below (p. 64, n. 119).

Dr. Geers has kindly permitted me to publish a drawing from his copy of K 11624 (see plate at end). We give here a transliteration and translation:

'sippark ⁱⁱ [bala-bi ba-an-kúr]	Sippar, its period of reign was altered.
la ₂ -r ₂ -a ₂ -ak-a ^{ki} e[n-sipa-zi-an-na]	In Larak En-sipa(d)-zi(d)-Anna(k),
1 lugal-e bala 3[6,000 m u]	1 king, period of reign 36,000 years.
la ₂ -r ₂ -a ₂ -ak-a ^{ki} bala-b[i ba-an-kúr]	Larak, its period of reign was altered.
LAM+KUR-RU ^{ki} ubur-t[u-tu]	In Shuruppak Ubar-Tutu(k),
zi-u-sud-ra dumu u[bur-tu-tu]	Zi-u-sud-ra, son of Ubar-Tutu(k),
2-àm lugal-e-ne bala [.. m u]	2 kings, period of reign .. years.
5 uru-dil-dili 9 lugal-[e]-[n e . . .]	Five separate cities, 9 kings
de-n-lil-le nam-[. . .]	Enlil . . .
^{den-lil ni-[. . .]}	
KA+LI-KA+LI f b-[. . .]	the (Akkadian: "their"?) noise
^{hu-bur-šu(?)} [nu(?)]	

We have included the evidence of the text quoted above—designated as "epic fragment K 11624"—in the notes to the text of WB, where the discussion of details will be found.

¹¹⁴ That this position was indeed a desirable one may be seen, e.g., from the fact that later Babylonian tradition, which has been preserved by Berossus, places Babylon there.

does not seem to be the King List and that this tradition exists as part of another literary composition and as a separate entity in the Sumerian literature of the Isin-Larsa period. The scribes who wrote our copies of the King List must therefore have had ample opportunity to know this tradition even if it did not appear in their originals. All this agrees perfectly with our second possibility, that the antediluvian section is secondary in the King List. It proves that all conditions for the making of such an addition were extant at the Isin-Larsa period. It is not enough, however, to exclude the first possibility, that the antediluvian section is original, for it is clear that traces of an earlier setting such as we have found would remain if the author himself had taken this section of his work from a tale from Eridu(g); and the tale in which the tradition originally belonged could live on along with the King List down to the Isin-Larsa period.

The peculiarities of the antediluvian section mentioned thus far, its independence and its partiality to Eridu(g), are not, however, the only features which set it apart from other sections of the list. It has a peculiar set of formulas. Since we have it fully preserved only in WB, we must study these peculiarities there.

As will be remembered, the formulas characteristic of the main body of WB, the postdiluvian section, are:

Formula for change of dynasty:

A^{ki} g^{is}t u k u l b a - a n - s^{ig} n a m - l u g a l - b i B^{ki} - s^è b a - t^ú m

"The city A was smitten with weapons; its kingship was carried to the city B."

Formula for dynasty total:

x l u g a l m u - b i y i b - a₅ (if the dynasty has only one king: i - a₅)

"x kings reigned its (the city's) y years."

Formula for introducing single rulers:

N. m u x i - a₅

"N. reigned x years."

In the antediluvian section, however, the formulas are:

Formula for change of dynasty:

A^{ki} b a - s u b - b é - e n n a m - l u g a l - b i B^{ki} - s^è b a - t^ú m¹¹⁵

"I (the author!) drop the city A;¹¹⁶ its kingship was carried to the city B."

¹¹⁵ The passages where the formula occurs are: i 8-10: erid a^{ki} b a - s u b (- b é - e n) n a m - l u g a l - b i b à d - t i b i r a^{ki} - s^è b a - t^ú m; i 18-19: b à d - t i b i r a^{ki} b a - s u b - b é - e n n a m - l u g a l - b i l a - r a - a k^{ki} (- s^è) b a - t^ú m; i 24-25: l a - r a - a k^{ki} b a - s u b - b é - e n n a m - l u g a l - b i z i m b i r^{ki} - s^è b a - t^ú m; i 30-31: z i m b i r^{ki} b a - s u b - b é - e n n a m - l u g a l - b i s h u r u p p a k^{ki} (- s^è) b a - t^ú m.

¹¹⁶ I.e., "I drop the subject of A (and proceed to deal with another subject)." The author himself is speaking. The Sumerian s u b , "to fall," transitive "to drop," can be used in

Formula for dynasty total:

x l u g a l m u - b i y í b - a₅ (even if the dynasty has only one king!)¹¹⁷
"x kings reigned its y years."

Formula for introducing single rulers:

N. m u x i - a₅¹¹⁸

"N. reigned x years."

It will be noted that these sets of formulas differ on two points. In the antediluvian section the formula for change of dynasty begins: "I (the author) drop the city A"; in the postdiluvian section the formula begins: "The city A was smitten with weapons." In the antediluvian section the collective form of the verb, í b - a₅, is used in every total; in the postdiluvian section í b - a₅ is used only in totals of dynasties with several rulers, whereas if the dynasty has but one ruler the singular i - a₅ is employed. These differences are important. The whole King List bears witness that its author

the meaning "to leave," "not to occupy oneself with a thing any longer," exactly like "to drop (a subject)" in English. On š u b, "to leave," cf. the equation š u b : ezēbu in *ŠL*, No. 68:3; also such passages as *SRT*, No. 3 iii 12-13: ù - m u - n i - k ú ù - m u - n i - n a g - 'g a l - t a i n í g - d i r i - g a g a - m u - n a - r a - a b - š u b, "Excess of oil beyond what he can eat and drink I shall let be left over (-ra-) for him," i.e., "I shall serve him more oil than he can drink, so that some will be left" (-ra- is the disjunctive verbal infix; our passage shows that—contrary to *GSG* § 513—this infix follows the dative infix, just as do other directional infixes; cf. also H. de Genouillac, *Textes économiques d'Oummá de l'époque d'Our* [Paris. Musée national du Louvre, "Textes cunéiformes" V (Paris, 1922)] No. 6167 rev. 3: m u - n e - r a - è, "came forth for them," and No. 6164 rev. 4: m u - n a - r a - n é - è - e š, "came forth for him"); *SEM*, No. 49 obv. 5: dg a š an n a n a 'an mu - un - šub 'ki mu - un - šub' kur - ra b [a - e - a - e n], "Gashananna(k) left heaven, left earth, and descended to Hades" (cf. now also S. N. Kramer in *RA* XXXIV [1937] 98: "she forsook"). Langdon's translation of the formula in *OECT* II 8 f. (accepted by Smith, *EHA*, p. 23, and Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 22), "(the city A) was overthrown," is excluded by the form of the verb, b a - š u b b - e n, which must be first or second person and cannot be third.

¹¹⁷ The passages in which this formula occurs are: i 6-7: 2 l u g a l m u (-b i) 64,800 í b - a₅; i 16-17: 3 l u g a l m u - b i 108,000 í b - a₅; i 22-23: 1 l u g a l m u - b i 28,800 í b - a₅; i 28-29: 1 l u g a l m u - b i 21,000 í b - a₅; i 34-35: 1 l u g a l m u - b i 18,600 í b - a₅.

¹¹⁸ The formula occurs in i 5: á - l á l - g a r m u 36,000 i - a₅; i 13-14: en - m e - e n - g a l - a n - n a m u 28,800 i - a₅; i 15: á d u m u - z i s i p a m u 36,000 i - a₅. The related formula for introducing new dynasties, A^{k₁} - a N. l u g a l - à m m u x i - a₅, is used carelessly: i 3-4: er i d a^{k₁} á - l u - l i m l u g a l (!) m u 28,800 i - a₅; i 11-12: b à d - t i b i r a^{k₁} en - m e - e n - l ú - a n - n a (!) m u 43,200 i - a₅; i 20-21: l a - r a - a^{k₁} en (!) - s i p a - z i - a n - n a (!) m u 28,800 i - a₅; i 26-27: z i m b i r^{k₁} en - m e - e n - d ú r - a n - n a l u g a l - à m m u 21,000 i - a₅; i 32-33: š u r u p p a k^{k₁} u b u r - tù - tù l u g a l - à m m u 18,600 i - a₅. See pp. 67 f., where the significance of the variants in this formula is discussed.

was a man who was fond of formulas and used them with singular precision and consistency. It is inconceivable that a man of this type should have made the purposeless and totally unnecessary change from "I drop the city A" to "The city A was smitten with weapons" which we find in the formula for change of dynasty. People with precise minds do not start before they have the exact formula to be used clearly in mind, and then they stick to it. They do not arbitrarily reject it when they get halfway, to evolve a different one. The existence of this change therefore points to a different hand; a later copyist is trying in the antediluvian section to adapt a source with different phraseology ("I drop the city A and proceed to deal with the city B") to that used in the King List ("The city A was smitten with weapons; its kingship was carried to the city B").

But the final and irrefutable proof that the antediluvian section is not of a piece with the postdiluvian is furnished by the other difference in the formulas, the varying use of the collective. In the postdiluvian parts of the King List the collective $i\ b - a_5$ is, as mentioned above, used only in totals of dynasties numbering several rulers, whereas we find the singular $i - a_5$ in dynasties with only one king. This section must therefore have been written by a man who understood the difference between $i\ b - a_5$ and $i - a_5$ and used the two forms correctly. In the antediluvian section, however, the collective $i\ b - a_5$ is used in every total, even when the dynasty has only one king. This section cannot, therefore, have been written by the same man who wrote the postdiluvian section but must have been composed later when the collective was no longer in living use and by a man who did not know what it stood for. It is also clear how this later writer arrived at the peculiar rules which govern his use of the form. Cases of dynasties with only one ruler are rare in the postdiluvian section; so a cursory inspection of his original would seem to him to show that, while $i - a_5$ should be used in the formula for introducing single rulers, the form $i\ b - a_5$, which he did not understand, was characteristic for the totals. Faced with the task of adding the material on antediluvian rulers which he had found in another source and of adapting its phraseology to that of the King List, he therefore used his self-made rule and wrote $i\ b - a_5$ in all his totals. It was, however, only in the new section which he added, the antediluvian section, that he had to bother thus with grammatical details. When he came to the postdiluvian section he could settle down to merely reproducing his original sign by sign. Thus his self-made rule did not disturb the old correct use of the two forms which appeared there.

The role of the antediluvian section in the tradition of the King List can thus no longer be doubtful; it is a later addition. We have seen that it most

likely originated in Eridu(g), that it was current in various settings in Sumerian literature at the time when most of our copies of the King List were written, and that it must have seemed valuable and desirable information to the ancients. We have found also that the form in which it appears in WB shows unmistakable signs that it was written later by a person different from the one who composed the postdiluvian section of the list. This means that the original form of WB, without the antediluvian section, agrees with the manuscripts P_2 , P_3 , and Su_1 which belong to the other main branch of the tradition, the B branch. Since the form without the antediluvian section is thus represented in both main branches, it must have been that of the original.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ It is of interest to determine as accurately as possible the extent of the antediluvian addition and to distinguish between those parts of it which come from the source used by the scribe and those which he himself added to fit it into its new setting.

To material which the scribe must have got from his source obviously belong the actual names and reigns given. As for the formulas, it is clear that the first part of the formula leading from one dynasty to another must have been taken over from the source, for there must have been a reason why the scribe did not simply use the formula as given in the King List proper, $A^{ki}zistukul ba-an-sig nam-lugal-bi B^{ki}-šè ba-túm$, but substituted $A^{ki} ba-šub-bé-en$ for $A^{ki}zistukul ba-an-sig$. This reason can only be that he found $A^{ki} ba-šub-bé-en$ in his source for the antediluvian section. Since the formula $A^{ki} ba-šub-bé-en$, "I drop (the subject) A," calls for the mentioning of a new subject, B, immediately afterward, we can conclude that the source for the antediluvian section, like the King List proper, introduced new dynasties by mentioning the name of their city. But it is unlikely that it also had $lugal-àm$ after the name of the first ruler, for in the antediluvian section our scribe has the greatest difficulty in remembering to use this $lugal-àm$ and forgets it completely both in i 11-12 and in i 20-21. Whether the source for the antediluvian section used a verb "he reigned" after the various reigns and whether it totaled up the reigns and dynasties is impossible to decide.

As we have mentioned above (p. 59, n. 113), there exists between the antediluvian section of WB and the epic *PBS V*, No. 1, a similarity of phraseology so striking that we must assume literary interdependence between the two texts. The fact that the antediluvian tradition seems at home in the epic (pp. 58-60) but appears in only a few copies of the King List as a late secondary addition makes it highly unlikely that the epic obtained its material from the King List. On the other hand we cannot assume that the scribe who inserted this section in WB took it directly from the epic. We have seen that his source used a formula "I drop the city A"; and such a formula is unthinkable in an epic, where the author cannot suddenly commence speaking in the first person. The source was therefore more likely a separate, self-contained version of the tradition, a list of the type represented by W-B 62, where such a formula would fit in well. This leaves us three possible ways to explain the relationship: (1) If we may assume that the names and reigns of the antediluvian kings were given in the lacuna covering the upper half of col. iii in *PBS V*, No. 1 (see p. 59, n. 113), the separate list used as source by WB may have been excerpted from this epic. (2) The epic may have used the same separate list which WB used. (3) The epic and the separate list used by WB may both derive from a third, as yet unknown, literary composition and may have inherited their common material and phraseology from there. Now it is clear that, whichever of these possibilities is correct, the existence of a close literary relationship be-

It remains to examine the question when in the tradition of our manuscripts the insertion of the antediluvian section may have been made. In the texts of

tween the epic and the source used by WB forms a valuable clue for separating those phrases in the antediluvian section of WB which the scribe has taken over from his source from those he himself added to fit the section in. If the source of WB and the epic are closely related, it is obvious that phrases which appear in both WB and the epic are likely not to be inventions by the scribe but to come from the source. Comparing, then, the phrases which introduce and close the antediluvian section in WB with those of the epic *PBS V*, No. 1,

[n a m]-lugal an-ta e ₁₁ -d _è -a-ba	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [m\ e]\ n\ n\ a\ m\ -l\ u\ g\ a\ l\ -l\ a\ a\ n\ -t\ a\ e\ n\ - \\ d\ [è\ (?)\]\ -a\ -b\ a \\ [g]iši\ b\ i\ r\ \varepsilon\ išg\ u\ -z\ a\ l\ n\ a\ m\ -l\ u\ g\ a\ l\ -l\ a \\ a\ n\ -t\ a\ e\ n\ -a\ -b\ a \end{array} \right.$
erida ^{kī} n a m -l u g a l -l a	
(antediluvian cities and kings)	(antediluvian cities)
a-ma-rū ba-ūr	a-ma-rū u-gū kab-dug ₄ -ga ba- a-n-a-a-b-ūr-e
	u ₄ 7-ām g ₁₅ 7-ām
egir a-ma-rū ba-ūr-r-a-ta	a-ma-rū kalam-ma ba-ūr-r-a-ta
nam-lugal an-ta e ₁₁ -d _è -a-ba	
kiš ^{kī} n a m -l u g a l -l a,	

we notice that the phrases nam-lugal an-ta e₁₁-d_è-a-ba and a-ma-rū ba-ūr both have close parallels in the epic and accordingly can be considered part of the source for the antediluvian section, whereas the phrase erida^{kī} n a m -l u g a l -l a does not have any counterpart.

Leaving aside for the moment the third correspondence, between egir a-ma-rū ba-ūr-r-a-ta and a-ma-rū...ba-ūr-r-a-ta and utilizing what must have formed part of the source—names of kings, reigns, the formula A^{kī} ba-šub-bé-en, etc.—we can reconstruct the source as follows:

nam-lugal an-ta e ₁₁ -d _è -a-ba		
erida ^{kī}	á-lu-lim	m u 28,800
	á-lá-l-gar	m u 36,000
	erida ^{kī} ba-šub-bé-en	
bād-tibira ^{kī}	en-me-en-lú-an-na	m u 43,200
	etc.	
a-ma-rū ba-ūr		

"When the kingship was lowered from heaven:

(In) Eridu(g):	A-lulim(ak),	28,800 years
	Alalgar,	36,000 years
	I drop Eridu(g).	
(In) Bad-tibira(k):	En-men-lu-Anna(k),	43,200 years
	etc.	

The Deluge swept in."

There are in this reconstruction several points worth noticing. First its abrupt, almost account-like, form agrees with our assumption that the source for the antediluvian section

the B branch we can do little more than make a guess. The two which show traces of the insertion, P₅ and K, both belong to the small group of manuscripts deriving from Y. Only one other text, S, belongs to that group, and S also—it is too fragmentary to give safe indications—may have had the antediluvian section. Since two of the texts in the group have the antediluvian section and the third may have had it, it seems a likely assumption that the insertion of the section was originally made in their common ancestor, Y, and inherited by the others. This assumption is the more probable because the scribe who wrote Y must be considered a person especially likely to have searched for and utilized additional material. We know that this scribe subjected his text

of WB was of a type similar to W-B 62. Such a form, introduced by short catchwords culled from the surrounding text, is also what we should expect to find in a concentrated excerpt from a longer literary composition.

Of most interest, however, is the fact that the author of this document apparently has no intent whatever to present the dynasties as successive. He defines his period by an upper limit: "When the kingship was lowered from heaven," and a lower: "The Deluge swept in"; but his phrase "I drop the city A. In the city B . . ." does not imply that the dynasty of B followed that of A in time; rather it seems chosen to avoid giving this impression. This view, that the antediluvian dynasties were more or less contemporaneous, is clearly incompatible with the King List proper, which directly aims at following the route of "the kingship" from one city to another. If the two sources were to be harmonized it was therefore necessary to supplement the vague framework of the antediluvian section, to establish where the kingship was when it was sent down from heaven, and then to follow it in its vagaries on earth. That the scribe who incorporated the section in WB realized this we may see from the phrase *e ri d a^{ki} n a m - l u g a l - l a*, "the kingship (was) in Eridu(g)," which has no counterpart in the epic and therefore is likely to have been added by the scribe himself. That this line does not come from his source is also indicated by the late form used here, *n a m - l u g a l - l a*, in contrast to *n a m - l u g a l* in the line which he copied from the original: *n a m - l u g a l a n - t a e₁₁ - d è - a - b a* (cf. pp. 67 f.).

It remains to discuss the lines *e g i r a - m a - r u b a - ù r - r a - t a n a m - l u g a l a n - t a e₁₁ - d è - a - b a k i š i^{ki} n a m - l u g a l - l a* which form the actual link between the antediluvian and postdiluvian sections. The only new thing which these lines bring is the preposition *e g i r . . . t a*, "after"; otherwise they are a mere repetition of the formulas used higher up in the section. Since these lines would be completely out of place in a separate list of antediluvian rulers but are eminently suitable to link an antediluvian section to a postdiluvian and since, moreover, they contain the form *n a m - l u g a l - l a* which is characteristic for the scribe's own efforts (see above), we can hardly doubt that they were written by the scribe himself on the basis of the earlier phrases to form the necessary connecting link between the two sections which he was joining. No importance can thus be attached to the similarity of *e g i r a - m a - r u b a - ù r - r a - t a* in the lines here discussed and the line *a - m a - r u . . . b a - ù r - r a - t a* in the epic. This similarity is purely accidental and due to the reuse in WB of a phrase, *a - m a - r u b a - ù r*, common to both versions. The preposition, which is the only new thing in the phrase, is expressed differently in the two texts: PBS V, No. 1, has . . . *a - t a*; WB, *e g i r . . . a - t a*.

of the King List to a thorough grammatical revision,¹²⁰ and a man who took so much trouble to improve the form of his copy would hardly be less interested in improving and completing the content.

Clearer than in the B branch is the situation in the A branch; for the point in WB's descent from the original at which the antediluvian section must have been inserted can be determined with a fair degree of certainty from a grammatical peculiarity common to the beginning and end of this version. The last section in our manuscripts of the King List generally shows peculiarities of some kind or other, for since the scribes as a rule copied from somewhat older originals they had to add new material—names and reigns of one or more new rulers—to bring their copies up to date. In these additions which the copyists themselves composed their scribal habits are apt to show, so that we often notice differences from the earlier parts of their copies, where they had merely taken down the text of their originals sign by sign. A difference of this kind in WB is the change in the formula for introducing new dynasties from A^{ki}(-a) N. lug a l - à m , "In A N. was king," which is used in the main body of the text, to A^{ki}-a N. lug a l (!) , "In A N. (was!) king," which appears at the end: u r i^{ki}-m a u r - [d n a m m u] lug a l (!) (viii 9) and i - s i - i n^{ki}-n a i š - b i - i r - r a lug a l (!) (viii 23). As will be noted, the verb "was" (- à m) is omitted in the latter form, and the name (Ur-Nammu(k), Ishbi-Irra) is merely placed beside the substantive with which it is to be identified (lug a l). This change in the formula at the very end of the text can only be explained by assuming that the section in which the new construction appears was added by a scribe who was bringing his copy of an older original up to date and who was accustomed to using this construction without - à m.

The construction without - à m is also found, however, in the antediluvian section, where we have [e r i] d a^{ki} n a m - lug a l - l a (!) , "(In) Eri-du(g) (was!) the kingship" (i 2), and k i š i^{ki} n a m - lug a l - l a (!) , "In Kish (was!) the kingship" (i 42). Here the name (Eridu(g), Kish) is merely placed beside the substantive (n a m - lug a l l - a) , exactly as in the closing section of the list. It is further noteworthy that the copyist here uses the form n a m - lug a l l - a which is characteristic for late texts,¹²¹ whereas he uses n a m - lug a l in the formula for change of dynasty, A^{ki} b a - š u b - b é - e n n a m - lug a l - b i B^{ki} - š è b a - t ú m , which he has modeled on the formula in his source for the King List proper (A^{ki} g i š t u k u l

¹²⁰ The changes from A^{ki} g i š t u k u l b a - s i g . . . to A^{ki} b a l a - b i b a - k ú r . . . , from i - a₅ to i n - a₅ , from i b - a₅ to i n - a k - e š , and from lug a l to lug a l - e - n e were made in this text.

¹²¹ GSG § 121.

ba-a-n-sìg n a m - l u g a l - b i B^{ki} - šè b a - t ú m), and of course in the postdiluvian sections, where he merely copies that source.¹²² The construction without - à m occurs elsewhere in the antediluvian section also. The first time the scribe uses the formula for introducing new dynasties (i 3) he writes e r i d a k i á - l u - l i m l u g a l (!), "(In) Eridu(g) A-lulim(ak) (was!) king," which is exactly like u r f^{ki} - m a u r - [d n a m m u] l u g a l (!) and i - s i - i n k i - n a i š - b i - i r - r a l u g a l (!) at the end of the list. Then he completely forgets that there is a special formula with l u g a l for introducing new dynasties (i 11-12 and 20-21), clearly because his source for the antediluvian section did not use it. When at last he discovers his forgetfulness, he looks up the formula in his source for the postdiluvian section and writes correctly z i m b i r k i e n - m e - e n - d ú r - a n - n a l u g a l - à m (i 26-27) and š u r u p p a k^{ki} u b u r - t ù - t ù l u g a l - à m (i 32-33).

The tendency to omit - à m which we notice in the antediluvian section whenever the scribe is not copying from his original of the King List proper and the similar omission of - à m in the additions at the end to bring the list up to date show clearly that both sections were inserted by the same hand. Since this hand has added the lines introducing the dynasty of Isin it must obviously be dated later than the beginning of that dynasty. As a likely place we may suggest the reign of Shū-ilishu, where traces in WB point to the end of an earlier version. It will be noted that Shū-ilishu is written with the determinative for divinity in line 25, which deals with his own reign, but not in line 27, where he is mentioned as father of I(d)in-Dagān. This inconsistency is most naturally explained if we assume that our text has descended through a version written under Shū-ilishu and ending with him. In such a version his name would be written with the determinative for divinity, for the scribe would, of course, acknowledge the divinity of the ruling monarch. Since the Shū-ilishu version stopped with that ruler, the following line, where he is mentioned as father of I(d)in-Dagān, must be the work of a later scribe bringing the Shū-ilishu copy up to date. Such a later scribe, writing after Shū-ilishu's reign, might naturally consider it unnecessary to give him the sign of divinity.

¹²² Cf. also his use of n a m - l u g a l in the phrase n a m - l u g a l a n - t a e n - d è - a - b a (i 1 and 41), which he probably took over as it stood from his source for the antediluvian section, while he had to make up the line A^{ki} n a m - l u g a l - l a himself.

III

CRITICAL EDITION OF THE TEXT, WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

As basic text that of WB, collated with photographs of the inscription, has been chosen. Letters in the margin show in which mss. each line or traces of it are extant, even if these traces amount to no more than a blank space indicating that the scribe found the line destroyed in his original. For definite omission of a line in a ms. we have inclosed the ms. symbol in angle brackets: <Su₂>. When—as is the case with P₂—lines of the text can be supplied from a final summary, the symbol is added in parentheses: (P₂).

The numbering of the lines is based on the form of the text presented by WB (we follow Langdon's numbering of the lines in *OECT II*). In emendations supplying passages presumably lost by WB in the course of transmission the lines have been numbered with the number of the preceding WB line followed by letters in alphabetic order, e.g. 41a, 41b, 41c.

Portions of the text which presumably represent later additions are indicated by the use of smaller type. Passages presumably contained in the original but lost in WB have been supplied in angle brackets: < >. Emendations of the text of WB to a form which must be considered closer to that of the original have been added in parentheses: (emend to). In cases where it is doubtful whether the text of WB or that of other mss. is preferable, the variant has been added in parentheses: (var. . . .) or (or). All restorations and emendations based on readings found in other mss. are printed in letter-spaced roman; for conjectural restorations italics have been used. Only the more important variants are noted in the text; those of less importance will be found in the notes, where the reasons for all emendations etc. are given in detail. Variants in the formulas have been discussed on pp. 28–42 and are not reconsidered here.

In quoting Sumerian and Akkadian words or names in English context, we have as a general rule tried to give or to approximate toward the oldest form. Thus we prefer Ubar-Tutu(k) to Ubur-Tutu(k), as the latter seems a later development. Similarly we use Man-ishtushu in preference to Man-ishteshu etc. The grammatical form chosen as basis for our English renderings of Sumerian words and names is the undeclined stem. The amissible final consonants (sometimes syllables!), which were probably indistinctly pronounced and which when Sumerian was a living language were not expressed in writing except before grammatical affixes beginning with a vowel, we have usually inclosed in parentheses. In certain names, however, where forms based on later explicit writings are already more or less current in English, e.g. Uruk, Shuruppak, etc., we have retained those forms and have not added parentheses. Similarly we have not considered it feasible to change well established forms such as Ur and Kish to Uri(m) and Kishi. In Akkadian names we have allowed ourselves even more freedom, giving the names sometimes with, sometimes without, case endings and mimation. In our choice of form we have here largely been guided by the form found in the King List.

Col. i¹

WB	1	[n a m] - lu g a l	a n - t a	e ₁₁ ² - d è - a - b a ³
WB		[e r i] d a ^{ki}		n a m - lu g a l - l a ⁴
WB		e r i d a ^{ki} ⁵	á - lu - l i m ⁶	lu g a l ⁷
WB		m u	28,800 ⁸	i - a ₅
WB	5	á - l à l - g a r ¹⁰	m u	36,000 ¹¹ i - a ₅
WB			2 lu g a l	
WB		m u <- b i> ¹²	64,800	i b - a ₅
WB		e r i d a ^{ki}	b a - š u b <-bé-en> ¹⁴	
WB		n a m - lu g a l - b i	b à d - t i b i r a ^{ki} - š è	
WB	10			b a - t ú m ¹⁶
WB		b à d - t i b i r a ^{ki} ¹⁷	e n - m e - e n - l ú - a n - n a ¹⁸	

¹ The antediluvian section (i 1-42) is not an original part of the King List but was added later (see pp. 61-68). We have indicated in the notes the chief points on which the form it takes in WB differs from that found in *PBS* V, No. 1, in W-B 62, in epic fragment K 11624 (see p. 59, n. 113), and in Berossus. The last is quoted from Paul Schnabel's edition, *Berossos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur* (Berlin, 1923) 2. Teil. The forms of the Greek letters used in our efforts at reconstruction are patterned after the letters found in the Greek transliterations of Sumero-Akkadian texts published by Pinches in Society of Biblical Archaeology, *Proceedings* XXIV (1902) 108-19.

² Thus according to photograph (cf. l. 41, which has this same spelling), not UD-DU = è as in Langdon's copy.

³ On the relation of this phrase to phrases in *PBS* V, No. 1, see pp. 58-59 and 64, n. 119.

⁴ On the grammatical construction used here see pp. 67 f.

⁵ *PBS* V, No. 1, agrees with WB on Eridu(g) as the first city. W-B 62 has BÀ-A^{ki}, i.e., k u₆ - a^{ki} (on this reading see n. 126 below), and Berossus has Babylon. The difference must be due to a natural tendency in the narrator or scribe who was handing on the tradition to locate the first kings in his own city (cf. pp. 59 f., esp. n. 114). Most likely the tradition was original in Kúra(ra) and was in early times adopted—and adapted—in Eridu(g). These two cities were situated fairly near each other (see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 121 f.; Zimmern in *ZA* n.F. V [1930] 255, n. 1; Ungnad, *Subartu*, pp. 28-30). That they were separate cities is rightly stressed by Landsberger (*Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, 1. Hälfte [Leipzig, 1915] p. 73, n. 1), but the close connection in which they occur in Sumerian literature suggests intimate cultural relations (cf. *ibid.* and Zimmern, *loc. cit.*). Finally the tradition was appropriated by Babylon, as happened with so much ancient lore in Neo-Babylonian times (see e.g. Langdon, *OECT* II 2; Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III [1924] 27). Sidney Smith (*EHA*, p. 19) suggests that the appropriation "depends on a New Babylonian reading of the actual cuneiform signs used by the scribe of list No. 1 [i.e., WB: NUN^{ki}], which, when originally written, denoted Eridu"; but this reading is of course itself an outcome of the extensive appropriation of Eridu(g) lore, so it is not necessary to assume that our substitution was dependent upon it.

⁶ W-B 62: [á] - lu l i m (the second sign was identified by Langdon, *OECT* II 8, n. 1, as a form of *REC*, No. 229, which varies with lu - l i m). Berossus: Ἀλωπος, in which,

Col. i¹

1 When the kingship was lowered from heaven
the kingship was in Eridu(g).
(In) Eridu(g) A-lulim(ak) (became) king
and reigned⁹ 28,800 years;

5 Alalgar reigned 36,000 years.
2 kings
reigned its¹³ 64,800 years.
I drop (the topic) Eridu(g);¹⁵
its kingship to Bad-tibira(k)

10 was carried.
(In) Bad-tibira(k) En-men-lu-Anna(k)

as sometimes happens, Babylonian *l* is represented by Greek *r* (Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 23, n. 1).

The name seems to mean "staghorn" (á-lulim-a k, "horn of the stag"). The genitive is not expressed in writing, probably because we are dealing with a "historical" orthography from the time before the Sumerians expressed grammatical elements in writing, i.e., before the time of E-Anna(k)-tum. On *lulim*, "stag," see Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, pp. 98 f.

⁷ On the omission of -a m here see p. 68.

⁸ W-B 62: 67,200; Berossus: 36,000. ⁹ On this translation of i - a₅ see p. 37, n. 85.

¹⁰ W-B 62: [á]-lāl-gar. Berossus: Ἀλαπαρος, which may represent original *ἀγαραραρος in which rr was corrupted to rr. Langdon, *OECT* II 2, and Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 23, n. 2, assumed ἀγαπαρος < *ἀγαραρος. Landsberger, quoted by Zimmern (*loc. cit.*), suggests that Ἀλαπαρος is correct and represents an e m e - SAL form Alabar; but the usual e m e - SAL form of g a r is m a r, not b a r.

¹¹ W-B 62: 72,000; Berossus: 10,800.

¹² Accidentally omitted by scribe, who was not yet used to the formula; cf. ll. 17, 23, 29, etc.

¹³ I.e., Eridu(g)'s; see p. 37, n. 86.

¹⁴ Accidentally omitted by scribe, who was not yet used to the formula; cf. ll. 18, 24, and 30.

¹⁵ See p. 61, n. 116, where the translation of this formula is discussed.

¹⁶ On the reading and translation of DU see p. 36, n. 84.

¹⁷ Bad-tibira(k) is given as the second city in *PBS* V, No. 1, and in Berossus, where the name appears as Pautibilon (Alexander Polyhistor ap. Eusebium [var. Parmibiblon] and Abydenus ap. Eusebium), as ἐκ Παυτιβιβλων (Polyhist. ap. Syncellum), and as ἐκ Παυτιβιβλων, var. πόλεως Παυτιβιβλιος (Abyd. ap. Sync.). W-B 62 has a dynasty of Larsa

[Footnote 17 continued on page 72]

¹⁸ W-B 62: [e n - m e] - e n - l ú - a n - n a. Berossus presumably had *ἀμμερων. The extant forms are: Polyhist. ap. Euseb.: Almelon (*ἀμμερων < *ἀμμερων), ap. Sync.: Ἀμηλων (*ἀμμιμερων < *ἀμμερων); Abyd. ap. Euseb.: Amelon (derived in

[Footnote 18 continued on page 72]

WB	12	m u	43,200 ¹⁹	i - a ₅
WB		e n - m e - e n - g a l - a n - n a ²⁰		
WB		m u	28,800 ²¹	i - a ₅
WB	15	d u m u - z i s i p a ²²	m u 36,000 ²³	i - a ₅
WB			3 l u g a l	
WB		m u - b i	108,000	i b - a ₅
WB		b à d - t i b i r a ^{k1}	b a - š u b - b é - e n	

[Footnote 17 continued from page 71]

as second dynasty and that of Bad-tibira(k) as third. On the reading of b à d -URUDU-NAGAR^{k1} as b à d - t i b i r a^{k1} see Ungnad in *ZA* XXXI (1917/18) 276 and Langdon in *JRAS*, 1923, p. 258, n. 2. References to the city may be found in *RLA* I 389 f. and in the literature quoted there. The identity of Bad-tibira(k) and *Παντιβαλα was noted by Langdon in *JRAS*, 1923, pp. 253 and 258, n. 2. Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 25, n. 1, suggests that an original Παντιβαλα became Παντιβαλα and then, under influence of βιβλος, Παντιβιβλα, while Lehmann-Haupt in *RLA* II 5 prefers a slightly different derivation: dittography of β and "der bekannte lautliche Wandel von ρ zu λ."

The dynasty of Larsa which W-B 62 inserts before the Bad-tibira(k) dynasty consists of

[] - k i - d u - 'u n - n u š a k i n k i n m u 72,000
 [] a l i m - 'm a l m u 21,600 [] 'b f (?) - g a r
 [2] l u g a l l a r s a^{k1} - m a

“.... kidunnu 72,000 years;
 -alimma(k) 21,600 years ;
 2 kings of Larsa.”

The insertion of this dynasty must be considered due to local patriotism in a copyist who wanted to see his own city, Larsa, represented among the antediluvian cities (thus also Langdon, *OECT* II 3, and Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 27). Sidney Smith (*EHA*, pp. 20 f.) stresses the many other differences between WB and W-B 62 and concludes: “The scribe of the second list [i.e., W-B 62] did not therefore take the first list [i.e., WB] and wilfully alter it, simply to glorify his own city; to all appearance he has recorded numbers, and probably names, based on authority which we have at present no reason to consider less than that of the other list.” This objection is correct in so far as W-B 62 cannot be just the antediluvian section of WB gone astray (see p. 58, n. 107) but must represent a separate branch of the (literary) tradition concerning the antediluvian kings. It cannot, however, weaken the case for considering the Larsa dynasty of W-B 62 a secondary insertion made by a scribe from that city.

The name of the second of these Larsa kings is usually read [] - u k (?) - k u (?) (thus Langdon, *OECT* II 2, and Zimmern, *op. cit.* p. 20); but the last sign is clearly - m a (see Langdon's copy, *OECT* II, Pl. VI), and the first sign can be part of alim. A restoration [l à l - u r - a l i m - m a is therefore perhaps worth considering. From *Ludul bel nêmegi* we know Lal-ur-alimma(k) as an ancient ruler of Nippur (*PBS* IV 1, p. 42, n. 1; Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom* [London, 1923] p. 51, l. 25 and n. 3). Our scribe can have known that name and used it when he made up his spurious dynasty of Larsa.

[Footnote 18 continued from page 71]

same way), ap. Sync.: *Αιλλαρος (probably restoration of *Αιλλαρος < *Αιλλαρος influenced by the similar name Μεγαλαρος). In an Assyrian omen text (*KAR*, No. 434 rev. [?] 14), as first noted by Weidner (see Langdon, *OECT* II 3, n. 3, and Zimmern, *op. cit.* p. 23, n. 3), the name occurs as am-me-lu-an-na. This latter form, which seems to rep-

12 reigned 43,200 years;
 En-men-gal-Anna(k)
 reigned 28,800 years;
 15 divine Dumu-zi(d), a shepherd, reigned 36,000 years.
 3 kings
 reigned its 108,000 years.
 I drop (the topic) Bad-tibira(k);

resent the pronunciation of the name in later periods, is obviously the basis for Berossus' *Αμμελων.

Berossus agrees with WB in placing *Αμμελων as the first ruler of the dynasty. W-B 62 has Dumu-zi(d) as the first, En-men-lu-Anna(k) as the second, ruler. After *Αμμελων Berossus has a ruler 'Αμμενων (Polyhist. and Abyd. ap. Euseb.: Ammenon, ap. Sync.: Αμμενων), whom Langdon (*OECT* II 3) identifies with En-men-gal-Anna(k). Langdon is followed by Smith (*EHA*, p. 19); but Zimmern (*op. cit.* p. 23, n. 4) has rightly seen that En-men-gal-Anna(k) must correspond to Berossus' Μεγαλαρος, Amegalaros, etc. (see below, n. 20). He therefore assumes (following Weissbach in Schnabel, *Berossos*, p. 179, and King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt*, p. 32) that the tradition used by Berossus had a ruler En-me-nunna (= Αμμενων) here. This En-me-nunna would then be identical with En-me(n)-nunna of the 1st dynasty of Kish and would, like Dumu-zi(d), appear both as an antediluvian and as a postdiluvian ruler. To us this construction seems most unlikely. We prefer to consider 'Αμμενων with his reign of 12 sar (i.e., 43,200 years) a mere doublet of the preceding *Αμμελων with 13 sar (i.e., 46,800 years) and to assume that one of these got into the text from a variant reading written in the margin or above the line in some early manuscript of *Babylonica*. Note also that the 12 sar of 'Αμμενων correspond exactly to the figure for En-men-lu-Anna(k) given in WB.

¹⁹ W-B 62: 21,600; Berossus: 46,800.

²⁰ W-B 62 omits this ruler. Berossus had presumably *Αμμεγαλανος (Polyhist. and Abyd. ap. Euseb.: Amegalaros [var. Amelagaros], ap. Sync.: Μεγαλαρος). As Zimmern has seen (*ZDMG* n.F. III 23), this reflects earlier 'Αμμεγαλανος, which we assume to derive from a still earlier *ΔΑΜΜΕΓΑΛΑΝΟΣ < *ΔΑΜΜΕΓΑΛΑΝΟΣ. This *Αμμεγαλανος corresponds to En-men-gal-Anna(k) (late form: *Ammegalan(na)) as does *Αμμελων to En-men-lu-Anna(k) (late form: Ammeluan(na)); cf. Zimmern, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Berossus: 64,800.

²² W-B 62: [d u m u] - z i s i p a. Berossus: Δαωνος ποιμήν or perhaps better *Δαωζος ποιμήν (Polyhist. ap. Sync.: Δαωνος ποιμήν; Abyd. ap. Sync.: Δαως ποιμήν. Polyhist. and Abyd. ap. Euseb. both give the name as Daonos). W-B 62 places this ruler as the first king of the dynasty, before En-men-lu-Anna(k), while Berossus, whose intrusive 'Αμμενων should be disregarded (see n. 18 above), agrees with WB in placing him third. The variant forms of the name in Berossus, Δαωνος and Δαως (< Δαω[νο]ς), may represent an original Δαωζος (original Ζ corrupted to Ν, as suggested by Sayce [quoted in *OECT* II 3, n. 2]), for which we may compare the late Babylonian form Du-uzi and the form تا-عُز (Ta-uz) used by the Sabeans of Harran in the Middle Ages (D. A. Chwolson, *Über Tamuz und die Menschenverehrung bei den alten Babylonier* [St. Petersburg, 1860] p. 38; *OECT* II 3, n. 2; cf. Burrows in *Orientalia* No. 7 [1923] p. 55 and n. 1). Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 23 rightly assumes the existence of Babylonian forms *Da'uzi and *Damuzi as variants of Dumuzi.

²³ Berossus agrees with WB on 36,000; W-B 62 gives 28,800.

WB	19	nam-lugal-bi	la-rá-a k ^{ki} <-šé>	ba-	tú m
WB	20	la-rá-a k ^{ki} ²⁴	en(!)-sipa-zí-an-na ²⁵		
WB		mu	28,800 ²⁶	i-a ₅	
WB			1 lug al		
WB		mu-bi	28,800	ib-a ₅	
WB		la-rá-a k ^{ki}	ba-šub-bé-en		
WB	25	nam-lugal-bi	zim bir ^{ki} <-šé>		
WB			ba-tú m		
WB		zim bir ^{ki} ²⁷	en-me-en-dúr-an-na ²⁸		
WB		lug al-à m ²⁹	mu 21,000 ³⁰	i-a ₅	
WB			1 lug al		
WB		mu-bi	21,000	ib-a ₅	
WB	30	zim bir ^{ki}	ba-šub-bé-en		
WB		nam-lugal-bi	šuruppak ^{ki} <-šé> ³¹	ba-	
			tú m		
WB		šuruppak ^{ki}		ubur-tù-tù ³²	

²⁴ Thus also W-B 62. *PBS* V, No. 1, omits the determinative *ki*. Epic fragment K 11624 writes *la-rá-rá-a k^{ki}*, which corresponds closely to Berossus' *Λαραγχα (Polyhist. ap. Sync.: ἐκ Λαραγχων, ap. Euseb.: Lanchara [vars. Ianchara, Chanchara]).

PBS V, No. 1, W-B 62 (if we ignore the spurious Larsa dynasty), and Berossus agree on Larak as the third antediluvian city. Note, however, that in Berossus *Ἐνδωραγχος, who corresponds to En-men-dur-Anna(k) of Sippar, has been counted as the last king of Bad-tibira(k), so that Berossus may originally have had Sippar as the third and Larak as the fourth city. This is strongly supported by the fact that K 11624 actually shows Sippar preceding Larak.

²⁵ Thus according to collation. W-B 62: [e] n - s i p a - z i - a n - n a ; K 11624: e [n - s i p a - z i - a n - n a] ; Berossus: Ἀμεμψίνος (Polyhist. ap. Euseb.: Amempsinos, ap. Sync.: Αμεμψίνος). The form Ἀμεμψίνος probably represents a late form of E n - s i p a (d) - z i (d) - A n n a (k), *am-sip-zí-an-na. Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 24 suggests that the initial 'Αμ represents an e m e -SAL form of e n , a m , also found in *Αμμελων = am-me-lu-an-na = e n - m e - l ú - a n - n a etc. The following ε can be a misreading of Ζ, and Μ may stand for carelessly written Μ (Μ) above which the scribe had added Υ to make it clearer (ΜΥ) but which was copied as ΜΥ (the explanatory Υ being considered correction of an omission). This would give a development Ensipzi(a)n(na) = *ἈΜCΙΨΙΝΟC > *ἈΜΕΜΨΙΝΟC > ἈΜΕΜΨΙΝΟC.

²⁶ W-B 62, Berossus, and probably K 11624: 36,000.

²⁷ Epic fragment K 11624 has Sippar before Larak; and Berossus, who now does not list Sippar, may also originally have had that order (cf. n. 24).

²⁸ W-B 62: e n - m e - d u r - a n - n a ; Berossus: *Ἐνδωραγχος (Polyhist. ap. Euseb.: Evedôranchos [var. E(v)edo(r)anchos], ap. Sync.: Ενδωραχος; Abyd. ap. Euseb.: E(v)e-doreschos, ap. Sync.: Ενδωρεχος. The form given by Abyd. may be explained through Δτ > Ετ > ετ. The name of this king is found also in the *bārū* ritual K 2486 (Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion. Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu, Ritual-*

19 its kingship to Larak was carried.

20 (In) Larak En-sipa(d)-zi(d)-Anna(k)
reigned its 28,800 years.

1 king

reigned its 28,800 years.

I drop (the topic) Larak;

25 its kingship to Sippar
was carried.

(In) Sippar En-men-dur-Anna(k)

became king and reigned 21,000 years.

1 king

reigned its 21,000 years.

30 I drop (the topic) Sippar;
its kingship to Shuruppak was carried.

(In) Shuruppak Ubar-Tutu(k)

tafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger [“Assyriologische Bibliothek” XII (Leipzig, 1901)] No. 24 obv. 1), where it appears as e n - m e - d u r - a n - k i . This form is obviously behind the variants in Berossus, which, as Zimmern has pointed out (*ZDMG* n.F. III 24), reflect an original **Ἐβεδωραγχος*. Of the two forms e n - m e - d u r - a n - n a and e n - m e - d u r - a n - k i , the first seems original; for the sign -na (NA) could easily be misread -ki (KI) if slightly damaged, and we must reckon with influence from the name of the ziggurat in Nippur, Dur-an-ki(k). Note the similar wavering in the name of the ziggurat in Larsa: é - d u r - a n - n a / é - d u r - a n - k i (Ebeling in *RLA* II 275).

²⁹ On the sudden occurrence of l u g a l - à m here and in the following dynasty see p. 68.

³⁰ W-B 62: 72,000; Berossus: 64,800.

³¹ Written SU-KUR-RU^{ki}; W-B 62: SU-KUR-LAM^{ki}; K 11624: LAM+KUR-RU^{ki}. Berossus has no dynasty of Shuruppak but assigns the rulers of this city to Larak (see nn. 32 and 34 below). Of these writings only the first, SU-KUR-RU^{ki}, is correct. LAM+KUR-RU^{ki} is in reality a phonetic writing of the name of a different city, Lamkurru, older Numkurru (see n. 115 below). Its use to designate Shuruppak (SU-KUR-RU^{ki}) must be due to confusion of the similar signs SU and LAM (see Albright and Kramer, quoted below). Similarly the writing SU-KUR-LAM^{ki} is probably due to confusion of RU and LAM, which also resemble each other. On the problems presented by these writings see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 45, n. 1; Albright in *JAOS* XLV (1925) 206 f.; Zimmern in *ZA* n.F. V (1930) 252, n. 5; Kramer in *JAOS* LII (1932) 117-19.

³² W-B 62: u b u r - t u - t u ; K 11624: u b u r - t [u - t u] ; Berossus: Ὁτιαρτης, Ἀρδαρης (so Polyhist. ap. Sync.; ap. Euseb.: Otiartes). The Ninevite version of the Gilgames epic (Tablet XI 23) has ubar-tu-tu. The form transmitted from Berossus by Polyhistor, Ἀτιαρτης, probably represents an older **առարդիւս* (according to Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 24, n. 3; first suggested by Oppert) or even, utilizing the variant Ἀρδαρης, **առարդարηս*, which may perhaps have derived from original **առարդարաւս* through a damaged text **առարդարաւմս*. The form with a, Ubar-Tutu(k), attested by the Gilgames epic and by Berossus, seems to be the more original, as Ubur-Tutu(k) is naturally

WB	33	lu g a l - à m	mu	18,600 ³³	i - a ₅
WB			1 lu g a l ³⁴		
WB	35	mu - bi		18,600	i b - a ₅
WB			5 ur u ^{ki} - m e - e š		
WB			8 lu g a l		
WB		mu <-bi>	241,200		i b - a ₅
WB		a - m a - ru		ba - ù r RA ³⁵ TA ³⁵	
WB	40	e gir	a - m a - ru	ba - ù r - r a - t a	
WB		nam - lu g a l	an - t a	e n - d è - a - b a	
WB		k i š i ^{ki} ³⁷		nam - lu g a l - l a ³⁸	
WB		k i š i ^{ki}		g á (?) - [.] - ù r ³⁹	
WB		lu g a l - à m			
WB	45	mu	1,200		i - a ₅
WB	L ₂	Su ₂	g ul - la	ṇ n i d a b a a n - n a - 'd a'	siki ¹⁴⁰
WB	L ₂	Su ₂	mu	960 ⁴¹	i - a ₅

explained as a development from Ubar-Tutu(k) by assimilation of *a* to the preceding *b* and following *u*'s. Berossus lists 'Ωriaptrns as king of Larak (see n. 31). W-B 62 does not list him as king but mentions him only as father of an otherwise unknown SU-KUR-LAM who there appears as father of Zi-u-sud-ra. As Landsberger (see Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 21, n. 1) has convincingly suggested, SU-KUR-LAM should be read simply Shuruppak, and this ruler owes his existence to an old misinterpretation of the phrase z i - u - s u d - r a d u m u SU-KUR-LAM (i.e., š u r u p p a k), "Zi-u-sud-ra, the man from Shuruppak," in which the city name was taken to be a personal name: "Zi-u-sud-ra, the son of Shuruppak." The sign - g i - - g e which follows the name SU-KUR-LAM in W-B 62:10 (i.e., š u r u p p a k - k i) is explained by Zimmern, *op. cit.* p. 20, n. 1, as "Vokalverlängerung." Could it possibly represent a thoughtless rendering of dictated(!) - k e i? Langdon's reading A r a d - g i n and his combination of this with Αρδαρης (*OECT* II 3) do not carry conviction.

³³ Berossus: 28,800; the same figure is assigned to SU-KUR-LAM in W-B 62.

³⁴ The omission of Zi-u-sud-ra is curious. It would be understandable, however, if the source used by WB was an excerpt from a larger legendary composition (cf. p. 64, n. 119) in which the antediluvian kings down to Ubar-Tutu(k) were treated together in one section of the narrative, that dealing with the founding of antediluvian cities, while Zi-u-sud-ra, as hero of the Flood story, was dealt with separately in a following section on the Flood. Such separation could have caused the excerptor to overlook him.

W-B 62 lists z i - u - s u d - r a as son of the preceding SU-KUR-LAM (see n. 32) and gives him a reign of 36,000 years. Epic fragment K 11624 correctly has him (as z i - u - s u d - r a) after Ubar-Tutu(k), as son of that ruler. Berossus lists him after 'Ωriaptrns (Ubar-Tutu(k)) as king of Larak (see n. 31) and gives him a reign of 36,000 years. The name is written Xisuthros (Polyhist. and Abyd. ap. Euseb.), Ζισουθρος (Polyhist. ap. Sync.), Σισουθρος (Abyd. ap. Sync.), and Σισιθρος (Abyd. ap. Euseb. *Praep. ev.*) or Σισιθρος (Sync.) (see Schnabel, *Berossos*, p. 266, n. 21), which Zimmern (*ZDMG* n.F. III 24) rightly derives from an original Ζισουθρος = Zisudra, which may be compared with the writing zi-sud-ra in *KAR*, No. 434 obv. (?) 7 (cf. Zimmern, *op. cit.* pp. 21, n. 2, and 24, n. 5) and with z i - u - s u d - r a in K 11624. Should K 2054 rev. iv 9 also be read z i - s u d - r a (!) instead of z i - s u d - d a as given in *CT* XVIII (1904) Pl. 30? The reading of the name,

33 became king and reigned 18,600 years.
 1 king

35 reigned its 18,600 years.
 5 cities were they;
 8 kings
 reigned their 241,200 years.
 The Flood swept³⁶ thereover.

40 After the Flood had swept thereover,
 when the kingship was lowered from heaven
 the kingship was in Kish.
 In Kish Ġa. .ur(?)
 became king

45 and reigned 1,200 years;
 Destroyed! To the heavenly Nidaba is it clear!
 reigned 960 years;

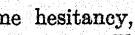
which appears in a variety of writings in Sumerian and Akkadian texts, has been widely discussed (see e.g. Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 48-50). We have adopted Zi-u-sud-ra as the form which we consider most likely to be correct.

³⁵ Dittography from b a - ù r - r a - t a in the next line.

³⁶ The verb ù r = *šabātu* and *sapānu*, “über etwas hinwegfahren oder” -streichen, wozu das gleichzeitige Beseitigen aller Unebenheiten der Oberfläche als konstitutiv für die Bedeutung von *sapānu* hinzukommt” (Landsberger in *ZA* n.F. III [1927] 216, n. 4). On ù r in connection with a - m a - r u see Langdon, *OECT* II 9, n. 4.

³⁷ The sign with which the name of the city Kish is always written represents the head of an ungulate quadruped. Since the Sumerian word for “to run,” “to gallop,” k a š, would furnish a good etymology for a word k i š or k ä š denoting a swift-running hoofed animal, we may assume that the sign originally represents an animal of that name. Its use to express the similar-sounding city name is thus purely phonetic.

³⁸ Here ends the secondary section on the antediluvian period which was added to the King List. See pp. 55-68 and esp. p. 64, n. 119.

³⁹ We have, with some hesitancy, accepted Langdon’s reading g á. In the photograph the sign shows as . There is a break in the tablet before and after this sign. Langdon (*OECT* II 9, n. 5) may be right in assuming that nothing is missing in the break before gá(?); in the break after gá(?) the photograph seems to show faint remnants of wedges. Langdon’s combination of the name with Polyhistor’s *Evek’sios*, *Eb̄nchos* (see n. 115 below) is untenable (see Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 30, n. 2). The latter name corresponds to En-me(r)-kar.

⁴⁰ Clearly not a personal name but a copyist’s note that the passage was damaged (g u l l - a) in his original. He piously adds: “To heavenly Nidaba (lit., ‘with [- d a] Nidaba of heaven [a n n - a (k) -]’ is it clear”; i.e., the goddess of writing herself would undoubtedly be able to make it out. Remnants of the original name seem to be preserved in L₂, which has ‘t e l - [] here.

⁴¹ L₂: , which should undoubtedly be restored 𒂗, i.e., 1,200; see Poebel in *OLZ* XXVII (1924) 263.

Col. ii

P ₅ L ₂	Su ₂	1	[p á - l a - k í - n a - t i - i m ⁴²]]	
L ₂	Su ₂		[m u	900 ⁴³	i - a ₅]	
P ₅ L ₂	Su ₂		[n a - a n - g i š - l i - i š - m a ⁴⁴]]	
L ₂	Su ₂		[m u	..	i - a ₅]	
WB P ₅	Su ₂	5	b a - h [i (?) - n a ⁴⁵]	m u	..	i - a ₅]
WB P ₅			BU-AN-? ¹ - [u m] ⁴⁶	[m u ¹	[8]40 ⁴⁷	i - a ₅
WB P ₂ P ₃	P ₅ Su ₁		k à - l í - b u - u m ⁴⁸			
WB P ₂ P ₃	Su ₁		m u	960 ⁴⁹	i - a ₅	
WB P ₂ P ₃	P ₅ Su ₁		q à ⁵⁰ - l u - m u (!) ⁵¹	m u	840 ⁵²	i - a ₅
WB P ₂ P ₃	P ₅ Su ₁	10	z ú ⁵³ - q á - q i ₄ ⁵⁴ - i p ⁵⁵			
WB P ₂ P ₃	Su ₁		m u	900 ⁵⁶	i - a ₅	
WB P ₂ P ₃	P ₅ <Su ₁ >		á - t a b ⁵⁷	m u	600 ⁵⁸	i - a ₅

⁴² Thus L₂; we read the last signs, 𒂗-𒂗, as 𒂗-ti-im (-ti-im). Su₂ has [p á - l a - k i] - n a - i - d i m₇ (cf. its similarly awkward spelling e n - m e - b á r a - g a - e - s i for En-me(n)-barage-si in ii 2). P₅: 𒂗-𒂗-𒂗, i.e., [p á] - l [a] - k i - [n a - t i - i m]. The name means "reign of righteousness" (with gen. pl. of *kittum*).

⁴³ Thus L₂. This reading of 𒂘 is preferable; see Poebel in *OLZ* XXVII 263.

⁴⁴ Thus L₂. Su₂: [] - 𒂗- 𒂘, i.e., [n a - a n - g i š] - l i - i š (?) - m a ; P₅: 𒂗- 𒂗, i.e., [n a - a n - g i š - l i - i š - m a]. The meaning of the name is probably "May he (a deity?) listen cheerfully." *Nangiš* seems to be the -iš "adverb" of **nangū*, "to be cheered up," IV₁ infinitive of *nigū*, "to be joyous" (*AH*, p. 446 a). The old form *līšma*(^c) (cf. Ungnad in *MVAG* XX 2 [1916] p. 87) instead of later *līšmē* is noteworthy.

⁴⁵ The reading and meaning of this name are uncertain. WB has 𒂘, i.e., b a - b [i (?) - n a] ; Su₂: [b a - h i] - n a ; P₅: 𒂘, i.e., b a - [h] i (?) - [n a] - e. After the name Su₂ gives [] - à m, which probably represents [l u g a l] - à m. It is unlikely that this line is original, for there is not room for it in WB, and it is lacking in P₅ also.

⁴⁶ The reading and meaning of the name are uncertain. WB has according to Langdon's copy 𒂘- 𒂘 (in photograph 𒂘- 𒂘 can be seen), i.e., BU-AN-?NU¹(?) - ?UM¹(?). P₅ gives 𒂘, i.e., BU-AN-? - UM. Since all the following names are animal names, we should perhaps expect an animal name here.

⁴⁷ Preserved only in WB: 𒂘 (in photograph 𒂘 can be seen), which probably represents 𒂘 (840).

⁴⁸ I.e., "dog" (*kalbum*). Note the old form with *i*, for which Syriac ܟܻܻܲ and the proper name ܒܻܻܲ may be compared.

⁴⁹ P₂: 𒂘, i.e., 𒂘 (900). WB's figure must be considered closer to the original; see pp. 19-21.

⁵⁰ Thus also P₅. P₃: q á - ; Su₁: q a - .

⁵¹ P₃ and P₅ add - u m ; P₂ adds - u m - e . Langdon's transliteration and translation of WB (*OECT* II 10) give k a (= q à) - l u - m u - m u ; his copy gives q à - l u - m u . A collation shows the latter form to be correct. The name means "lamb" (*AH*, p. 333);

Col. ii

1. Palâ-kînâtim
 reigned 900 years;
 Nangish-lishmâ
 reigned . . years;

5. Bahina(?) reigned . . years;
 BU-AN-?-um reigned 840 years;
 Kalibum
 reigned 960 years;
 Qalûmu(m) reigned 840 years;

10. Zuqaqîp
 reigned 900 years;
 Atab reigned 600 years;

Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 111. Poebel's argument for reading this word *qalûmu* is supported by the writing with *q a -* in *Su₁*. On this name cf. also Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII [1934] 5).

⁵² *P₃*: 900. In *Su₁* ፩ must also represent 900 (፪). *P₂*'s ፩ is ambiguous. Since WB seems to be the most reliable source for this section as a whole (see pp. 15-23), it is likely that it preserves the better text.

⁵³ *P₃* and *P₅*: *z u -*; *Su₁* and *P₂* with ፩ are ambiguous.

⁵⁴ Thus also *P₂*, *P₃*, and *Su₁*. *P₅* has - *q i -*.

⁵⁵ *P₂* adds - *e*. The name means "scorpion" (see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 111; Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 5). The reading *Zuqaqîp* is proved correct by the fact that it furnishes a parallel to the other animal names in the section. There is nothing to support Langdon's view (*OECT* II 10, n. 7) that we should read *d u g₄ - g a - g i₄ - i b*.

The place of *Zuqaqîp* and his predecessor *Qalûmu(m)* is different in WB from what it is in the other lists, where these rulers appear farther down. As shown above (pp. 19-23), the order of WB is here original.

⁵⁶ Thus also *P₂*: ፩, which can only be ፩ (900). *P₃* has—according to Poebel's copy—፩, but the photograph in *PBS* V, Pl. XCI, seems to have ፩, i.e., ፪ (900). *Su₁* has ፩, i.e., ፪ (600), which has evidently developed from ፪ (900) through ፪ in a damaged text (see p. 17).

⁵⁷ *P₂* has ፩ ፩, *P₅* ፩ - ፩, both of which should obviously be restored 'á - b a'. This agrees with *P₃*, which has [] - b a. *Su₁* omits the name. On the original form of the passage see pp. 21-22. In passing through a damaged text the words m a š - d à - d u m u were lost, so that á - t a b - b a came to figure as name of the successor of á - t a b, a stage in the development of the text now represented by WB. In the other branch of the tradition, the B branch, the á - t a b passage was then damaged once more, as witnessed by the entire omission of the line á - t a b m u 600 i - a₅ in *Su₁*, the blank line left for m u 600 i - a₅ in *P₂*, and the form á - b a (!) in *P₂*, *P₃*, and *P₅*, which is clearly an incorrect restoration based on a damaged á - [t a b] and made under influence of the following á - t a b - b a.

⁵⁸ *P₂* leaves a blank space for the figure and i - a₅. *Su₁* omits the line entirely.

WB P ₂ P ₃ P ₅ Su ₁	13	⟨ma š-dà dumu⟩ ⁵⁹ á-ta b-ba ⁶⁰ mu
		840 ⁶¹ i-a ₅
WB P ₂ P ₃ P ₅ Su ₁		ar-wi-ú-um ⁶² dumu ma š ⁶³ -dà-ke ₄
WB P ₂ P ₃ Su ₁	15	mu 720 ⁶⁵ i-a ₅
WB P ₂ P ₃ P ₅ Su ₁		e-ta ⁶⁶ -na ⁶⁷ s i p a lú an-šè
WB P ₂ P ₃ P ₅ Su ₁		ba ⁶⁸ -e ₁₁ -d è ⁶⁹
WB P ₂ P ₃ Su ₁		lú kur-kur ⁷⁰ mu-u-n-gi ⁷¹ -na ⁷²
WB P ₂ Su ₁		74 u g a l-à m ⁷⁴ mu 1,560 ⁷⁵ (var. 1,500?)
		i-a ₅
WB P ₂ P ₅ Su ₁ K	20	ba-l i-ib ⁷⁶
WB P ₂ P ₅ Su ₁ K		dumu e-ta ⁷⁷ -na-ke ₄
WB P ₂ Su ₁		mu 400 ⁷⁸ (var. 410) i-a ₅
WB P ₂ P ₅ Su ₁ K		en-m e ⁷⁹ -nu n-n a ⁸⁰ mu 660 ⁸¹ i-a ₅

⁵⁹ On this emendation see pp. 21 f.

⁶⁰ Not a new name but merely the genitive of the preceding á-ta b, as shown in detail on pp. 21 f.

⁶¹ Thus also P₃: r⁷⁷, which can be restored as r⁷⁷ (840). Su₁'s r⁷⁷ (720) is clearly secondary and derived from r⁷⁷ (840) through r⁷⁷ in a damaged text. P₂ leaves a blank line here.

⁶² P₅: ar-wi-ú; P₂: ar-wi; Su₁: ar-wi-um; P₃: ar-bu-u m. All of these forms would seem to derive from that given by WB, ar-wi-ú-um, through damaged texts; cf. p. 17.

⁶³ P₃ adds -EN-.

⁶⁴ The addition of -EN- in P₃ changes the meaning to "a plebeian" (see p. 17, n. 36). That this variant is secondary is clearly shown by the close relationship in meaning between m a š-d à = *šabitum*, "gazelle," and *arwi-um*, "male gazelle." The form of the entry also excludes a rendering "plebeian." A detailed discussion of the passage is given above (pp. 17 f.).

⁶⁵ Thus also P₂. In P₃ r⁷⁷ should be restored r⁷⁷ (720).

⁶⁶ Thus also P₂, P₃, and P₅. Su₁ has -t á -.

⁶⁷ This ruler appears as the chief character of the Etana epic (Langdon, "The legend of Etana and the eagle," *Babylonica* XII [1931] 1-56). He is also mentioned in the fragment K 14788 (*CT* XXXIV [1914] Pl. 18) and in the Gilgames epic (R. C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* [Oxford, 1930] Pl. 30:49), where he appears as resident in Hades. An omen concerning him is *K.A.R.*, No. 434 obv.(?) 9. The text Ki 1904-10-9, 87+K 5119 (O. R. Gurney, "A bilingual text concerning Etana," *JRAS*, 1935, pp. 459-66), which deals with the seven *apkallu*'s, refers to him in ll. 3-4: [e-ta-n a s i p a] lú an-šè b a-a n-è / [e-ta-n a rē-u] ša ana šamē^a i-lu[-u], "Etana, a shepherd, the one who ascended to heaven." Most of the references to Etana have been collected by Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 22.

A Sumerian etymology of the name Etana, "Ascender (e d) of heaven (a n n-a)," was proposed by Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 112. It has the support of the writing dè-ta-n a in Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts* (*PBS* I 2 [1919]) No. 112 ii 67: z i dè-ta-n a a n-è kur . . . g á h é(-p a), "The life of Etana, (the one) ascending heaven, the . . . of the foreign lands, be invoked." (Cf. Gurney, *op. cit.* p. 462, n. 1. Gurney's

13 <Mashda, son> of Atab,⁶⁰ reigned 840 years;

Arwi^{um}, son of Mashda,⁶⁴

15 reigned 720 years;

Etana, a shepherd, the one who to heaven
ascended,

the one who consolidated all⁷³ lands,
became king and reigned 1,560 (var. 1,500?) years;

20 Balih,

son of Etana,

reigned 400 (var. 410) years;

En-me(n)-nunna reigned 660 years;

explanation of the name as an imperative of è is not probable.) We do not yet, however, consider this etymology sufficiently well established to adopt a form Ed-ana(k), but keep provisionally the rendering Etana.

⁶⁸ Thus also P₃, Su₁, and perhaps P₅, where the sign is damaged. P₂ has 'i (?) - i b (?)¹ - .

⁶⁹ P₂ and P₃: - d a .

⁷⁰ P₂ and Su₁ add - r a .

⁷² Thus also P₂ and Su₁. P₃: - n i .

⁷¹ Thus also P₂. Su₁: - g i₄ - .

⁷³ Cf. GSG § 142.

⁷⁴⁻⁷⁴ P₂ and Su₁ omit. Since the phrase can easily have been omitted by accident (being overlooked by a copyist or disappearing in a lacuna), whereas it is difficult to imagine why a copyist should have inserted it if he did not find it in his original, we must assume that WB preserves the correct text.

⁷⁵ Thus according to the photograph; Langdon reads 1,500. Su₁: 𒂗𒂗 = 𒂗𒂗 (1,500); P₂: 𒂗 𒂗 (635), a figure which is no doubt derived from an original 1,500 (𒂗𒂗) through a damaged text, difficult to read.

⁷⁶ P₅ and Su₁ also write b a - li - i₄ . P₂ has w a - li - i₄ , which perhaps represents a mishearing in dictation. K has AN-ILLAD, i.e., Balihu; see E. A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* (Philadelphia, 1930) p. 151. The name occurs also (as *ba-li-hum*) on a cylinder seal seen by Scheil in Aleppo and published by him in *MDP VI* (1905) 53, No. 11, and in *RA XIII* (1916) 11, IV 3.

⁷⁷ Thus also P₂ and P₅; Su₁: - [t] 4 - . For the name as a whole K has KI-MIN, which refers back to its previous mention.

⁷⁸ P₂: 410. Su₁'s 𒂗 𒂗 also would seem to represent 410 (𒂗 𒂗). It is uncertain which branch of the tradition preserves the better text.

⁷⁹ Thus also P₂, P₆, and Su₁; K: - m e n - .

⁸⁰ Thus also P₆, Su₁, and K; P₂ adds - k e₄ . The name En-me(n)-nunna forms part of the name of a special type of wasp: d u m u - e n - m e - n u n - n a , "son of En-me(n)-nunna." See Poebel, *PBS IV* 1, pp. 113 f.; Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, p. 41, No. 39a; cf. *ibid.* p. 132.

⁸¹ Thus also Su₁; P₂: 611. As the figure 660 is represented in both the A branch (WB) and the B branch (Su₁) of the tradition, it must be original. The figure of P₂, 611, has ob-

WB P ₂ P ₅ Su ₁ K	24	m e ⁸² - lám - kiši ^{ki} dumu en-me- nun-na - ke ⁸³
WB P ₂ P ₅ Su ₁ K	25	mu 900 i - a ₅
WB P ₂ P ₅ Su ₁		bar-sal-nun-na ⁸⁴ dumu en-me- nun-na ⁸⁴
WB P ₂ P ₅ Su ₁		mu 1,200 i - a ₅
WB P ₂ P ₅ Su ₁		⁸⁵ sumúg sà-mug ⁸⁵ dumu bar- sal-nun-na ⁸⁶
WB P ₂ P ₅		mu 140 i - a ₅
WB P ₂ P ₅	30	ti-iż-kàr ⁸⁷ dumu sumúg sà-mug ⁸⁸
WB P ₅		mu 305(!) ⁸⁹ i - a ₅
WB P ₅		⁹⁰ il - k u - ú ⁹⁰ mu 900 i - a ₅
WB P ₅		il - t a - s a - d u - u m
WB P ₅ Su ₂		mu 1,200 ⁹¹ i - a ₅
WB P ₅ Su ₂	35	en-me-en ⁹² - bára - g e ⁹³ - si (!) ⁹⁴
WB P ₅ Su ₂		⁹⁵ l ú m a - d a elam ^{ki} - m a

viously developed from an original 𒂗 (660) through a text in which the stylus of the scribe slipped so that it left a double imprint of the <-wedge: 𒂗.

⁸² Thus also P₂, P₅, and Su₁; K: m e₅ - .

⁸³ Thus also P₂; P₅ omits - k e₄. K writes KI-MIN, referring back to En-me(n)-nunna in the preceding line.

⁸⁴⁻⁸⁴ P₅ omits; P₂ adds - k e₄. Since dumu en-me-nun-na (- k e₄) appears in both branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: P₂), it must be original, and the omission in P₅ is therefore secondary.

⁸⁵⁻⁸⁵ The name has been variously read: mes - za - mug (Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 74 and 82; Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 30; Legrain, *PBS* XIII 11), t u p - z a - a ܲ (Langdon, *OECT* II 10), Dubzah (?) (Weidner in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* II [Heidelberg, 1925] 441), mes - za - a ܲ (Barton, *RISA*, p. 348), etc. The last sign of the name is without any doubt mug, as read by Poebel, Zimmern, and Legrain. A comparison of our sign as it is written in WB and P₅ with the way a ܲ / i ܲ is written in these texts (a few lines higher up in the name Balih) establishes this beyond question. More difficult is the first sign; WB has a clear DUP (*REC*, No. 385), while P₅ has ܲ, which may be UM (*REC*, No. 79) or a simplified form of DUP. Since the scribes of the period from which our texts date did not distinguish clearly among the signs UM (*REC*, No. 79), MES (*REC*, No. 363), and DUP (*REC*, No. 385) (see ŠL, No. 138.1; and note that WB uses REC, No. 385, i.e., DUP, in such names as Gilgames, Mes-Anne-pada, and Mes-kiāg-nunna(k), where a reading mes is unquestionable), no safe conclusions as to the reading can be drawn from the form of the sign alone. A reliable clue to the reading is given, however, by the last two signs of the name: za - mug or sà - mug corresponds so closely to the value sumúg / sámág of *REC*, No. 385 (DUP), that there can be no doubt that the combination represents an old gloss which has got down into the text (for similar cases see nn. 159 and 291 below). We should therefore read sumúg and restore the older form of the line as sumúg^{sà-mug}. In the translation we have rendered this name

24 Melam-Kishi(k), son of En-me(n)-nunna,
 25 reigned 900 years;
 Bar-sal-nunna, son of En-me(n)-nunna,
 reigned 1,200 years;
 Samug,⁸⁵ son of Bar-sal-nunna,
 reigned 140 years;
 30 Tizkar, son of Samug,
 reigned 305 years;
 Ilku³ reigned 900 years;
 Ilta-sadum
 reigned 1,200 years;
 35 En-me(n)-barage-si,
 the one who carried away as spoil

Samug, since Sumug is obviously a later pronunciation, derived from Samug by assimilation of *a* to the following *m* and *u*.

⁸⁶ P₂ and P₅ add -k e₄.

⁸⁷ Akkadian. Probably abbreviation of a longer, theophorous name such as *Tizkar-dŠamaš*, "Be mindful of Shamash." Cf. the names with this element listed in Chiera, *PBS* XI 1, p. 50, Nos. 20-21.

⁸⁸⁻⁸⁹ P₅ adds -k e₄. P₂: d u m u b a r - s a l - n u n - n a - k e₄, which is clearly dittoigraphy from s u m ú g s à - m u g d u m u b a r - s a l - n u n - n a - k e₄ just above. That d u m u s u m ú g s à - m u g (-k e₄) is the earlier form of the text is shown also by the fact that it appears in both branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: P₅).

⁹⁰ Thus according to the photograph; Langdon reads 306.

⁹⁰⁻⁹⁰ P₅ has [i] l - k u - u m - e . Which is correct?

⁹¹ Thus also Su₂: ፩፩, which can only represent an original ፩፩ (1,200).

⁹² P₅ and Su₂ omit.

⁹³ Thus also P₅; Su₂: - g a - e - . On the latter form cf. *PBS* X 2, No. 5 rev. 9: e n - m e - 'b a r a - g a (?) - e¹ - s i , and note the similarly artificial spelling [k i] - n a - i - d i m₇ for k i n a t i m in Su₂ (n. 42 above).

⁹⁴ - s i is clear in WB and in the parallel texts. Langdon's reading - g u r - (*OECT* II 11) is erroneous (cf. Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 30, n. 16; Scheil in *RA* XXXI [1934] 161). En-me(n)-barage-si is mentioned as father of Aka in the tale of Gilgames' war on Kish (*PBS* X 2, No. 5 rev. 9; cf. p. 145, n. 20).

⁹⁵⁻⁹⁶ Su₂ omits. P₅ with [] ፩ ፪ ፩ u k [u l] - b i ፩ [b] - ፩ t a ፩ - a [n - g ú r] and P₅ with l ú m a - d a e l a [m] ፩ k ፩ - [m] a ፩ ፪ ፩ u k u l ፩ - 'b i ፩ 'i b ፩ - 't a ፩ - a n - 'g ú r agree with WB except that P₅ has i b - instead of i b -. The omission of this note in Su₂ must be secondary, for it is attested both in the A branch (WB) and in the B branch (P₃ and P₅) of the tradition and is accordingly an original feature. Probably Su₂ derives through a text damaged at this place.

WB	P ₃	P ₅	Su ₂	37	gištukul - bi	í b - t a - a n - g ú ⁹⁵
WB	P ₃	P ₅	Su ₂	97	lugal - à m ⁹⁷	mu 900 ⁹⁸ i - a ₅
WB	P ₃	Su ₂			a ₅ - k à ⁹⁹	
WB	P ₃	Su ₂		40	dumu en - me - en ¹⁰⁰	bára - ge ¹⁰¹ -
					si (!) ¹⁰² - ke ₄ ¹⁰³	
WB	P ₃	Su ₂			mu 625	i - a ₅ ¹⁰⁴
WB	P ₃	Su ₂			23 lugal	
WB	P ₃	Su ₂			mu - bi 105 24,510	itu 3
WB	P ₃	Su ₂			u ₄ 3 u ₄ 105	í b - a ₅
WB	P ₃	Su ₂		45	ki šikí gištukul	ba - an ¹⁰⁶ - sìg
WB	P ₂	Su ₂			nam - lugal - bi 107	é - a - n - n a - šé ¹⁰⁷
WB	P ₂	Su ₂				ba - t úm
WB	P ₂				é - a - n - n a - ka	

Col. iii

WB	P ₂	[m e s - k i] - á g ¹⁰⁹ - g a - [š e - e r]
WB	P ₂	[d u m u] dutu e n - à [m]
WB	P ₂	[l u g a l] - à m mu 32[4] ¹¹⁰ i - a ₅

⁹⁶ This seems the best translation; g úr = šalālu, "to take away as spoil" (*ŠL*, No. 362.20). Langdon's translation (*OECT* II 11), "with his weapon subdued" (followed by Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 30, n. 16; by Barton, *RISA*, p. 349; and—with slight change—by Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 3: "dessen Waffe das elamische Land unterwarf"), does not take into account the fact that - bi can refer only to a neuter or to a collective; gištukul - bi must therefore be the weapons of Elam and cannot be the weapon of En-me(n)-barage-si.

⁹⁷⁻⁹⁸ Thus apparently also P₅. Su₂ and—as is probable from the spacing—P₃ omit. Since lugal - à m is attested in both branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: P₅), it must be original and the omission in Su₂ and P₃ secondary.

⁹⁸ Thus also Su₂, P₃, and P₅. The latter has 𒂗 𒂗 (900).

⁹⁹ Thus also Su₂; P₃ omits - k à . Since - k à is found in both branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: Su₂), it must be original and the omission in P₃ secondary. Aka (written a₅ - k à) is mentioned in the story of Gilgames' war on Kish (see p. 145, n. 20) and in Chronicle Weidner (Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 48, l. 31', where it is spelled 𒂘 a₅ - k a) . The name is frequent in the Fara texts (Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara III [WVDOG XLV* (Leipzig, 1924)] 20*), where it is spelled a k , i.e., a k (a) .

¹⁰⁰ P₃ and Su₂ omit.

¹⁰² - si - is certain; see n. 94 above.

¹⁰¹ Su₂: - g a - e - ; see n. 93 above.

¹⁰³ Su₂ omits.

¹⁰⁴ P₃ adds here a summary of the reigns of En-me(n)-barage-si and his son:

[1,5]25(?) m[u] dumu - dumu 1,525(?) years the family
en - me - b [á r a - g e - s i] of En-me(n)-barage-si.

Since other texts both in the A branch (WB) and in the B branch (Su₂) do not show this total, we must consider it a secondary feature peculiar to P₃. Cf. the similar case below

37 the weapons of the land of Elam,⁹⁶
 became king and reigned 900 years;
 Aka,
 40 son of En-me(n)-barage-si,

reigned 625 years.

23 kings
 reigned its 24,510 years, 3 months,
 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ days.

45 Kish was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to E-Anna(k)¹⁰⁸
 was carried.
 In E-Anna(k)

Col. iii

Mes-kiag-gasher,
 son of Utu, became high priest
 and king and reigned 324 years.

(p. 113, n. 255). Apparently the scribe of P_3 (or of one of its predecessors) had a special predilection for such “family” totals.

¹⁰⁵⁻¹⁰⁶ P_3 ’s $\text{š}š\text{š}$ I also can be thus restored. Su_2 has $\text{š}š\text{š}\text{š}\text{š}\text{š}$ $m\text{u}$ $\text{š}\text{š}$ $i\text{t}\text{u}$
 $m\text{u}$ u_4 $m\text{u}$, which most likely derives from the figures of WB through a broken text: $m\text{u}\text{ - }b\text{ - }i$ $\text{š}š\text{š}\text{š}\text{š}\text{š}$ $\text{š}\text{š}$ $i\text{t}\text{u}$ $m\text{u}$ $m\text{u}$ u_4 $m\text{u}$. Our scribe miscopied $m\text{u}$ as $\text{š}š\text{š}$ and—being used to summaries of the form $m\text{u}\text{ - }b\text{ - }i$ x $m\text{u}$ y $i\text{t}\text{u}$ z u_4 —read as indicated by the horizontal braces and “corrected” the text by inserting a $m\text{u}$ after what he considered the figure for the years. Scheil in *RA* XXXI 161 has already seen that the difference between the two figures “s’explique naturellement par des *lapsus de copiste*.”

¹⁰⁶ We must assume that the older form $b\text{ - }a\text{ - }s\text{ - }i\text{g}$, retained in both main branches of the tradition (A branch: J ; B branch: L_1 , Su_1 , and Su_{3+4}), was the one used in the original (see p. 131).

¹⁰⁷⁻¹⁰⁷ Thus also P_2 ; Su_2 : $\text{é}\text{ - }a\text{ - }n\text{ - }n\text{a}^{\text{ki}}\text{ - }š\text{ - }e$.

¹⁰⁸ As first pointed out by Poebel (*PBS* IV 1, p. 115), the phrase presupposes that only the temple precinct E-Anna(k) existed at the time. The city Uruk was built under En-me(r)-kar (iii 7-9).

¹⁰⁹ P_2 : $-i\text{n}\text{ - }$.

¹¹⁰ $m\text{u}$ $m\text{u}$. Since the sum of the other reigns of the dynasty as given in WB is 324 years less than the total given for the dynasty as a whole, our figure should be restored as $m\text{u}\text{ - }m\text{u}$ (324; cf. Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 31, n. 3). A comparison of WB and Su_2 suggests that Su_2 had the same figures as WB for the first ten rulers (see n. 143 below) and therefore also 324 years for Mes-kiag-gasher. P_2 has 325. Since WB and Su_2 seem to agree on 324, this figure is represented both in the A branch (WB) and in the B branch (Su_2) of the tradition and may therefore be considered original.

WB P ₂	4	iii[m e s] - k i - á g ¹¹² - g a - [š e - e r]	
WB P ₂	5	a b - b a	b a - a n - t u
WB P ₂		h u r - s a g - š e	b a ¹¹³ - e ₁₁ ¹¹¹
WB P ₂		e n - m e - k á r ¹¹⁵	d u m u m e s - k i -
		á [g ¹¹⁶ - g a - š e - e r] ¹¹⁷	
WB P ₂		l u g a l u n u ^{ki} - g a	l ú u [n u g ^{ki}] ¹¹⁸
WB P ₂		m u - u n ¹¹⁹ - d ù - a	
WB P ₂	10	l u g a l - à m	
WB P ₂		Su ₁ m u	420 ¹²¹ i - a ₅

¹¹¹⁻¹¹¹ This note is probably an early addition; see p. 143, n. 14.

¹¹² P₂: - i n - .

¹¹³ P₂ adds 𒀭, i.e., b a - 'a¹ - e₁₁. The plene writing serves to express hiatus.

¹¹⁴ a b - b a b a - a n - t u can hardly mean "penetrated to the sea" (Langdon, *OECT* II 11) but must be "entered the sea," "went into the sea" (Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 31, n. 2: "zog in das Meer hinein"; Smith, *EHA*, p. 33: "entered the sea"; Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 3: "drang in das Meer ein"); and the contrast between t u, "to go in," and e₁₁, "to go out," suggests that we should translate the following h u r - s a g - š e b a - e₁₁ as "he came out toward the mountains." The usual rendering, "he ascended the mountains" (Langdon, *loc. cit.*: "went up unto the mountains"; Zimmern, *loc. cit.*: "stieg auf das Gebirge hinauf"; Smith, *loc. cit.*: "ascended the mountain"; Güterbock, *loc. cit.*: "stieg auf das Gebirge"), does not bring out this contrast clearly. The rendering "came out" is also supported by the fact that the journey of Mes-kiag-gasher, the "son of the sun-god," obviously reflects the daily journey of the sun. In the evening the sun goes down into the sea in the west. During the night it travels underground, and in the morning it comes out to the mountains in the east. Crossing over them, it then appears again to the world.

¹¹⁵ P₂: e n - m e - e r - r ù - k á r . En-me(r)-kar is mentioned outside the King List (1) in the Lugal-banda epic (*SEM*, p. 1 and texts listed there), (2) in the epic of En-me(r)-kar and Nigi of Lamkurru (*SEM*, pp. 1 f. and texts listed there). Nigi is mentioned in No. 16 obv. iii 18: n i - g i e n - à m m e s - b i, "Nigi, the high priest, is its hero," and *ibid.* I. 23: n i - g i e n l a m - k u r - r u^{ki}, "Nigi, the high priest of Lamkurru." That the city name is to be read phonetically, l a m - k u r - r u, is proved by the variant writing n u - u m - k u r - r u in *SEM*, No. 19 obv. ii 18, for Numkurru is merely a phonetic variant of Lamkurru: Numkurru>Lamkurru; see Poebel, *GSG* § 64), (3) in the legend of the king of Kuthá (*CT* XIII, Pl. 41 obv. 2), and (4) in Chronicle Weidner (*ZA* n.F. VIII 48, l. 32', 49, 1. 1, and 51). (5) The text dealing with the seven *apkallu*'s (Ki 1904-10-9, 87 [published by T. J. Meek in *AJSL* XXXV (1928/29) 138] obv. 5-6+K 5119 [published by Gurney in *JRAS*, 1935, pp. 463-65] obv. 10-13; cf. Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms* [*OECT* VI (Paris, 1927)] p. 32, and Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 9 f.) mentions the *apkallu* of En-me(r)-kar: [. . - ú] g - g a l - g i m . This note is of considerable interest and probably refers to the traditions contained in the epic of Lugal-banda and that of En-me(r)-kar and Nigi. It should be read:

[. . - ú] g - g a l - g i m n u n - m e d e n - m e - k á r d i n a n n a š à è - a n - n a - k e₄
a n - t a e₁₁ - d è

[MTN] ap - kal MIN šá d iš - tar iš - tu šamé ana ki - rib a - a - ak - ki ú - še - ri - da

[Footnote 115 continued on facing page]

4 Mes-kiāg-gasher
 5 went into the sea
 and came out (from it) to the mountains.¹¹⁴
 En-me(r)-kar, son of Mes-kiāg-gasher,

king of Uruk, the one who built
 Uruk,¹²⁰
 10 became king
 and reigned 420 years;

“. . uggalim, *apkallu* of En-me(r)-kar, (him) who made Inanna(k) descend from heaven into E-Anna(k).”

The name En-me(r)-kar is written e n - m e - e r - k á r in the Lugal-banda epic and in the Nigi epic, but appears as e n - m e - k á r in Chronicle Weidner, in *CT* XIII, Pl. 41 obv. 2, and in the *apkallu* text. E n - m e - k á r represents the older orthography, in which amissible consonants were not expressed (cf. *AS* No. 6, pp. 17 f.), whereas e n - m e - e r - k á r represents the younger, more explicit orthography. The name is thus En-me(r)-kar. Whether the form given by *P*₂, e n - m e - e r - r ù - k á r, is intentional or the wedge ▷ (r ù) is merely a slip of the scribe is uncertain.

In post-Babylonian sources En-me(r)-kar is mentioned (1) as grandfather of Gilgames by Aelian, *De natura animalium* xii 21, where the name Σενηχόπος—as first suggested by von Gutschmid (see Zimmern in *KAT*³, p. 565, n. 3, and in *ZDMG* n.F. III 31, n. 4)—should be emended to Εβηνχόπος (cf. Sayce, quoted by Langdon, *OECT* II 12, n. 3). Aelian’s story probably derives ultimately from Berossus. (2) In the usual excerpts of Berossus En-me(r)-kar appears in the forms Εβηνχόους (Polyhist. ap. Sync.) and Εβεκ’σιος, Εβεκ’κοχος (Polyhist. ap. Euseb.), i.e., *Εβηνχόπος (von Gutschmid, quoted in *KAT*³, p. 565, n. 3; Langdon, *OECT* II 9, n. 5; Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 30, n. 2, and 31, n. 4), which were first identified with the name En-me(r)-kar by Schnabel (see Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 31, n. 4); cf. n. 39 above. (3) In the scholia of Theodore bar Kônî, as seen by Hugo Gressmann in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* XXX (1905) 586, the name ; which precedes that of Gilgames (; cf. n. 128 below) in the list of rulers given by that author (see Martin Lewin, *Die Scholien des Theodor bar Kônî zur Patriarchengeschichte (Genesis XII-L)* [Berlin, 1905] p. 25, variant from ms. P), probably represents *Εβηνχόπος, En-me(r)-kar.

¹¹⁶ *P*₂: - i n - .

¹¹⁷ *P*₂ adds - k e₄ .

¹¹⁸ *P*₂ adds - g a (?) , apparently dittography from the preceding u n u^{ki} - g a . See Poebel in *OLZ* XXVII (1924) 262, n. 1.

¹¹⁹ *P*₂ adds - d a - , which changes the meaning from “(who) built Uruk” to “under whom Uruk was built.” See Poebel, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁰ *P*₂: “the one under whom Uruk was built.”

¹²¹ Thus also *P*₂ and *Su*₁. Berossus (according to Polyhist.) gives Evek’sios, Εβηνχόους (emend to Εβηνχόπος) 2,400 years.

WB P ₂	Su ₁	12	d l u g a l - b à n - d a ¹²²	s i p a
WB P ₂	Su ₁		m u	1,200 ¹²³
WB P ₂	Su ₁		d d u m u - z i ¹²⁴	ŠU-PEŠ
WB P ₂	Su ₁	15	u r u ^{ki} - n i	k u ₆ - a ^{ki} ¹²⁶
WB P ₂	Su ₁		m u	100 ¹²⁷
WB P ₂	Su ₁		d g i l g a m e s (d G I Š - B I L - G A - M E S)	ì - a ₅

¹²² Thus also P₂. Su₁ omits the determinative. Lugal-banda is the hero of the Sumerian Lugal-banda epic (*SRT*, pp. 34 f.; *SEM*, p. 1; Falkenstein in *OLZ* XXXVI [1933] 301 f.; Gütterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 13, n. 1) and appears also in the legendary text *PBS* V, No. 20. With the Akkadian myth of Zū and the theft of the tablets of destiny Lugal-banda has nothing to do, nor does this myth form part of the Lugal-banda epic. Berossus seems to mention Lugal-banda as the second of his postdiluvian kings and son of *Eiñxoros (En-me(r)-kar), for the badly corrupt Χωμασβῆλος (Polyhist. ap. Sync.; ap. Euseb.: Chomasbelos, Khomasbelos) very likely derives from an original Lugal-banda:

*λψγδης αναρ
*λψγδης βημαρ

That Χωμασβῆλος should have developed out of a variant of the name Gilgames, *g a - m e š - b i l, as Zimmern suggests (*ZDMG* n.F. III 31, n. 4), is not probable, for such a variant is not likely to be found. Sayce's derivation (in *OECT* II 9, n. 6) from g u l - l a d n i d a b a a n - n a - d a s i k i l (cf. n. 40 above) is also unconvincing.

¹²³ Thus also P₂ and Su₁. Berossus (Polyhist. ap. Euseb.) gives Χωμασβῆλος (=Lugal-banda) 2,700 years.

¹²⁴ As a terrestrial ruler dDumu-zi(d) appears also in the text *PBS* V, Nos. 20-21, which deals with an Elamite attack on Babylonia in his time; see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 117. Cf. also n. 22 above.

¹²⁵ The meaning of ŠU-PEŠ is unknown. Perhaps it is to be identified with š u - k u s, "fisherman," as is generally assumed (cf. Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 118; Langdon, *OECT* II 12; Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 31, n. 6).

¹²⁶ Various readings of the city name written 𒄩-𒀀-ki or, with transposition of signs, A-𒄩-ki have been proposed. Langdon (*Babylonian Liturgies* [Paris, 1913] p. 115, n. 2) suggested a reading h a - b ú r. Most other scholars read š u b a r i (see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 121; Zimmern in *ZA* n.F. V [1930] 255, n. 1; and Ungnad, *Subartu*, pp. 28-30 and the literature quoted there). Of importance for the reading are only two passages: (1) In the incantation *CT* XVI (1903) Pl. 6 v 239-40 A-𒄩-ki of the Sumerian line is rendered šu-ba-ri in the Akkadian translation. (2) In the Tammuz hymn published by K. D. Macmillan in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* V (1906) 674-75 obv. 25-26 A-𒄩-ki of the Sumerian line is rendered ku-us-a-ra in the Akkadian translation, and the duplicate (G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen* [Berlin, 1896] No. 80:9) also has 'ku(!)-us-a-ra. Of these forms, šubari and kuvara, only one can be correct. A comparison with the old writing itself, 𒄩-𒀀-ki/A-𒄩-ki, shows clearly that kuvara should be preferred; for 𒄩-𒀀-ki can be read k u₆ - a^{ki}, and, since the amissible consonants were not expressed in older Sumerian orthography, this is a perfectly correct spelling of a name pronounced Ku^a(r) (cf. my remarks on non-expression of final -k in *AS* No. 6, pp. 17 f., also n. 115 above on En-me-kar/En-me(r)-kar) abbreviated from older Ku^ara(r). The writing šu-ba-ri in *CT* XVI, Pl. 6, must be a corruption of ku(!)-ba-ri, which would represent a variant pronunciation (kuvara>*kuwara>kubara). The signs šu and ku are so similar that a misreading can

12 divine Lugal-banda, a shepherd,
reigned 1,200 years;
divine Dumu-zi(d), a . . .¹²⁵—

15 his city (was) Ku^a(ra)—
reigned 100 years;
divine Gilgames—

easily have happened. On the situation of the city and its relations with Eridu(g) see n. 5 above. The connection of Dumu-zi(d) with Ku^a(ra) has been dealt with in detail by Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 121.

¹²⁷ Thus also P₂ and, as it seems, Su₁, where ~~KK~~ can be restored ~~KK~~ (100).

¹²⁸ The hero of the Gilgames epic (see the literature quoted in Albert Schott, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* [Leipzig, (1934)] pp. 5-10). A separate tale, the last part of which was incorporated in the Gilgames epic as the twelfth tablet, has been edited (first half only) by Kramer in *Gilgamesh and the Huluppu-Tree* (AS No. 10 [1938]). See the texts there quoted and add Langdon, *BE* XXXI, No. 35, and Radau in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (Leipzig, 1909) Pls. 13-14, No. 11, which continue the story and give the beginning of Enkidu's account of Hades. Another epic text deals with Gilgames' war with Kish through which he liberated Uruk (see p. 145, n. 20). The "History of Ebmal" (*PBS* V, Nos. 6-7+*PBS* XIII, No. 48; see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 143-47, and Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 7. On the reading Ebmal instead of Tummal see Poebel in *OLZ* XXVII [1924] 263, n. 4, and cf. Landsberger in *OLZ* XXXIV [1931] 129) mentions him as builder of the Ĝiparu (written g u (g₄) - b u r - r a) of Enlil in Nippur. A late ruler of Uruk, Anam, states that Gilgames built the city wall of Uruk (*SAK*, p. 222, No. 2 b). As protecting genius Gilgames is mentioned by Utu-heḡal (*RA* IX [1912] 115 iii 1-3). Ur-Nammu(k) is his "big brother" (*TRS* I, No. 12:112). He is Shulgi's "beloved brother" (*PBS* X 2, No. 6 rev. i 16) or "brother and friend" (Chiera, *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents* [OIP XVI (1934)] No. 51 rev. 35). A prayer to him is given in Paul Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos* (Leipzig, 1884) No. 53. A collection of Gilgames omens has been treated by Zimmern in *ZA* XXIV (1910) 166-71. They all seem to derive from the epic (Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 9). He is mentioned in *Maqlû*, Tablet I, and an image of him in R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* I (London and Chicago, 1892) No. 56 rev. 5. The name of a certain drug contains his name (*KAR*, No. 186 rev. 10; see Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish* [1930] p. 10). Aelian (*De natura animalium* xii 21) relates a curious story of how En-me(r)-kar (Σενχοπος), having been told that his daughter would bear a son who would seize the kingdom from him, locked the girl in a tower. But the girl bore a son by an obscure man, and when the guards threw the child down from the tower an eagle carried him to a garden where the gardener found him and brought him up. This child was Gilgames. The list of ancient kings contained in the scholia of Theodore bar Kōnî (Lewin, *Die Scholien des Theodor bar Kōnî*) mentions Gilgames (☞☞☞, vars. ☞☞☞ and ☞☞☞ [pp. 2 and 25], reflecting an original ☞☞☞*) as the last of the ten kings from Peleg to Abraham and contemporaneous with the latter (p. 2, ll. 8-9).

The orthography of the name changes considerably in the various periods of Babylonian history. The oldest occurrences of the name known to us date from the time of Lugal-anda and give the writing ^dGIŠ-BÍL-GÍN-MES (Allotte de la Fuÿe in *RA* VI [1904-7] 124). From Sargonic times down to the period of Isin and Larsa the standard form becomes ^dGIŠ-BÍL-GA-MES (Sargonic period: Ur-^dGIŠ-BÍL-GA-MES, *UE* II 316, U 11418; Utu-heḡal: ^dGIŠ-^lBÍL(?)-GA-MES, *RA* IX [1912] 113 iii 1). This writing also occurs in the inscription of Anam

WB	P ₂	Su ₁	18	a b - b a ¹²⁹ - ni	lí l ¹³⁰ - lá	
WB	P ₂	Su ₁		en	k u l - a b - b a - k e ₄ ¹³²	
WB	P ₂	Su ₁	20	mu	126 ¹³³	i - a ₅
WB		Su ₁		ur - ¹³⁴ d n u n - g a l ¹³⁴ (var. ur - lug a l)		
WB		Su ₁		d u mu ^d g i l g a m e s (^d GIŠ-BIL-GA-MES)		
WB				mu	30	i - a ₅
WB				u - d ù l - k a l a m - m a		
WB			25	d u mu ur - ¹³⁵ d n u n - g a l - k e ₄ ¹³⁵ (or ur - lug a l - k e ₄)		
WB				mu	15	i - a ₅
WB				¹³⁶ l a - b a - a < b? (old lacuna?) > IR ¹³⁶		
WB				mu	9	i - a ₅
WB				en - n u n - d à r a (!) ¹³⁷ - a n - n a		
WB			30	mu	8	i - a ₅

(*SAK*, p. 222, No. 2 b) and in the Sumerian fragments of the Gilgames epic (e.g. *SEM*, No. 22 obv. 8, No. 26 rev. iii 11; *RA XXX* [1938] 128-29, ll. 8 and 41) which belong to the Isin-Larsa period. Other examples from this period are frequent. A writing ⁴GIŠ-BIL-GA-MES is found in the King List and in the Sumerian version of the epic, *PBS X* 2, No. 5, and Zim-mern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, 2. Reihe (1913) No. 196, from ap-proximately the period of the 1st dynasty of Babylon. The Akkadian versions from Old Babylonian times have the abbreviated form ⁴GIŠ (Meissner, *Ein altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgamospos [MVAG VII 1 (1902)]*; M. Jastrow and A. T. Clay, *An Old Babylonian Version of the Gilgamesh Epic* ["Yale Oriental Series. Researches" IV 3 (New Haven, Conn., 1920)]). In a personal name in a document from Elam (Scheil, *MDP XXII*, No. 41:1: *puzúr-⁴giš-ga-maš*) the name is written ⁴GIŠ-GA-MAŠ; later forms are ⁴GIŠ-GIM-MAŠ (Hittite texts: see J. Friedrich in *ZA* n.F. V 32 f.), ⁴GAL-GA-MI-ŠU-UL (Hurrian texts: F. Hrozný, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Heft 6 [*WVDOG XXXVI* 2 (1921)] No. 33 i 8; Ungnad in *ZA* n.F. I [1924] 135); and in Assyrian times we find ⁴GIŠ-GÍN-MAŠ (Ninevite version of epic), *GIŠ-GÍN-MAŠ-SI(?)* (*CT XII* [1901] Pl. 50, K 4359 obv. 17; cf. Friedrich in *ZA* n.F. V 33, n. 2), *GI-IL-GA-ME-ES* (T. G. Pinches in *Babylonian and Oriental Record* IV [1890] 264), *KAL-GA-IMIN* (syllabary, *CT XVIII* [1904] Pl. 30 iv 6). Post-Assyrian forms are *Γλύαμος* (Aelian, *De natura animalium* xii 21) and ~~waša~~^{waša}* (Theodore bar Kônî; Lewin, *loc. cit.*). Further literature may be found in Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 123; Friedrich in *ZA* n.F. V 32 f.; Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamish* (1930) pp. 8 f.

¹²⁹ Thus also P₂. Su₁ omits.

¹³⁰ Thus in all probability P_2 also. The photograph in *PBS V*, Pl. XC, seems to have $\text{W} (?) = \text{I} \text{ I} \text{ I}$. Poebel's copy gives $\text{W} = \text{A} \text{. I. I}$. The conclusions drawn by W. Förtsch in *OLZ XVIII* (1915) 367-69, based on this reading, should therefore be abandoned.

¹²¹ Thus with R. Campbell Thompson, who in this 111-14 sees Sumerian 111-14, Akkadian *lilu*, "the demon equivalent to a male vampire. There are four demons of this class—the *idlu* *lilu*, the *ardat* *lilu*, the *lilu*, and the *lilitu*. The *ardat* *lilu* is well known as the female vampire or succuba who visits men by night and bears him[!] ghostly children: the *idlu* *lilu* must be her male counterpart who can visit women and beget offspring by them."

18 his father (was) a *lillū*-demon¹³¹—
a high priest of Kullab,
20 reigned 126 years;
Ur-Nungal(ak) (var. Ur-lugal(ak)),
son of divine Gilgames,
reigned 30 years;
Utul-kalamma(k),
25 son of Ur-Nungal(ak) (or Ur-lugal(ak)),

reigned 15 years;
Laba. . . . IR¹³⁶
reigned 9 years;
En-nun-dara-Anna(k)
30 reigned 8 years;

just as demigods are created" (*The Epic of Gilgamish* [1930] p. 9). Thompson rightly compares the "obscure man" in the story of Aelian (see n. 128 above) and the statement in the epic that Gilgames was 2/3 god and 1/3 mortal, which seems to show that neither of his parents was fully mortal. Langdon (*OECT* II 12, n. 3) translates *lil-lá* as "fool, imbecile" and considers it possible "that *lil-la* is really a title of *Tammuz* who in the Louvre hymn, *RA* 19, 175-185 is called *mu-lu-lil*, 'the fool god,' and that *Tammuz* is really the father of *Gilgamiš* here." This combination seems doubtful. Gilgames is generally considered son of the goddess Ninsun (thus in the Utu-hegāl inscription, *RA* IX 113, and in the Ninevite version of the epic; see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 124 f., and in *OLZ* XVII [1914] 4-6), who was the wife of Lugal-banda (Deimel, *Pantheon babylonicum* [Romae, 1914] No. 2701).

¹³² A quarter of Uruk (cf. Thureau-Dangin in *RA* IX 119), originally probably a separate city. It seems likely that it was the quarter around the main temple, E-Anna(k) (see Zimmern in *ZA* n.F. V 258, where E-Anna(k) is styled é m e - g a l k u l a b k i - a , "Tempel, mit den grossen Ordnungen, in Kullab").

¹³³ Thus also P₂. Su₁ has 𒉿; but 𒉿 is in all probability merely due to the stylus having slipped, so that we can read here also 𒉿 (126).

¹³⁴⁻¹³⁴ Su₁: -l u g a l . In the "History of Ebmal" also (*PBS* V, No. 6 obv. 5) the name appears as [u] r - l u g a l . The variant is clearly due to mishearing when the text was dictated to a copyist. A similar mistake, which must likewise be due to mishearing in dictation, is mentioned in n. 146 below. We cannot say which form is original.

¹³⁵⁻¹³⁵ See n. 134.

¹³⁶⁻¹³⁶ Langdon's rendering of the third sign as š e (𒉺) and his spacing of the signs in his copy are not correct. The photograph shows 𒉿 𒉿 𒉿 . The third sign looks like an incomplete a b ; and, since the large blank after it suggests a lacuna in the scribe's original, our line may render 𒉿 𒉿 𒉿 .

¹³⁷ According to the photograph the sign is 𒁹, i.e., d à r a (cf. Charles Fossey, *Manuel d'assyriologie* II 1 [Paris, 1926] No. 7919).

WB		31	^{138f} MES ¹ (?)-HÉ sim ug ¹³⁸ mu 36 i - a ₅
WB	Su ₂		¹³⁹ m e - l á m - a n - n a ¹³⁹
WB	Su ₂		mu 6 ¹⁴⁰ i - a ₅
WB	Su ₂		lug al - k i - t u n ₃ (?) ¹⁴¹ mu 36 ¹⁴² i - a ₅
WB	Su ₂	35	12 lug al
WB	Su ₂		mu - bi 2,310 ¹⁴³ i b - a ₅
WB	Su ₂		u n u g ^{ki} g̃ištukul ba - a n - s̃i g
WB P ₂	Su ₂		n a m - lug al - b i u r f ^{ki} - š̃e
WB P ₂			ba - t ú m
WB P ₂	Su ₂		u r f ^{ki} - m a
WB P ₂	Su ₂	40	mes - a n - n é - p à - d a ¹⁴⁴
WB P ₂			lug al - à m mu ¹⁴⁵ 80 (emend to 80 - x?) i - a ₅
		41a	<i>< a-an-né-pà-da</i>

¹³⁸⁻¹³⁸ Langdon reads su h u š - h é - d é, but a royal name meaning "May he destroy the foundation" is not very likely. The photograph seems to have 𒄑 for the first sign, which looks more like 'MES' or 'DUP' than like su h u š. We therefore read provisionally 'MES¹(?)-HÉ sim ug, "MES(?)-HÉ, a smith."

¹³⁹⁻¹³⁹ Su₂ has here 𒄑 - 𒈾, i.e., ti - k ù. It is not impossible that this has developed out of an original m e - l á m - a n - n a through a badly damaged version [m e - l á m -] 𒄑 - 𒈾, in which 𒄑 (a n) and 𒈾 (the front part of n a) were read together as one sign, 𒄑 (ti), and separated from 𒈾 (the remainder of n a), which was read as k ù. That the original of Su₂ was indeed seriously damaged at this place can be seen from the fact that its formula x mu i - a₅ changes to mu x i - a₅ just after the reign of ti - k ù, which can only mean that here the copyist had to use a different source to fill in a lacuna in his original.

¹⁴⁰ Su₂ has 900! See n. 143 below.

¹⁴¹ Photograph: 𒈾?

¹⁴² Su₂: 𒈾 (7), read as 420! See n. 143.

¹⁴³ This total agrees with the sum of the single reigns if we restore the broken figure for Mes-kiag-gasher as 324 (see n. 110 above). Su₂ has the total 3,588 years. This is correct if we restore the first ten reigns, now missing in Su₂, according to the figures given in WB and add the very high reigns of the last two rulers which are preserved in Su₂: [324 + 420 + 1,200 + 100 + 126 + 30 + 15 + 9 + 8 + 36] + 900 + 420 = 3,588. There can, of course, be no doubt that WB's reasonable figures for these two reigns, 6 and 36, which agree with the historical character of the other reigns in the last half of this dynasty, represent a better form of the text than the 900 and 420 years given in Su₂.

¹⁴⁴ This writing is found also in Mes-Anne-pada's seal inscription (UE II, Pl. 191, U 13607), in the seal inscription of his wife (UET I, No. 268), in the inscription of his son A-Anne-pada (UE I, Pl. XL, T[e]ll O[beid] 160), and in the list of names in PBS XI 1, No. 25 obv. In the late text BM 56488 rev. iv 11-16: bitu šá ⁴mes-an-né-pà-da i-pu-šu na-an-na la-qi-it zi-i-ri uš-tal-pit, "The house which the divine Mes-Anne-pada had built did Nanna, the 'seed-gatherer,' destroy(?)" (Meissner in ZA VII [1892] 29; G. Dossin in RA XXII [1925] 115-17; Güterbock in ZA n.F. VIII 8, who rightly suggests that the picture of birds picking up seed in a field underlies the expression *zira lagātu*), the name is written with the determinative for god.

31 Mes(?)-Hé, a smith, reigned 36 years;
 Melam-Anna(k)
 reigned 6 years;
 Lugal-ki-tun(?) reigned 36 years.

35 12 kings
 reigned its 2,310 years.
 Uruk was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to Ur
 was carried.
 In Ur

40 Mes-Anne-pada
 became king and reigned 80 (emend
 to 80-x?)¹⁴⁵ years;
 41a <A-Anne-pada,

¹⁴⁵⁻¹⁴⁵ This surprisingly high figure probably represents—as pointed out by Gadd in *UE* I 128—a conflation of two reigns, that of Mes-Anne-pada himself and that of his son A-Anne-pada. We may assume that an original text

mes-a-n-né-pà-d a
 lug a l-à m mu 80-x 1-a₅
 [a-a-n-né-pà-d a
 dum u] mes-a-n-né-pà-d a
 mu x 1-a₅

broken as here indicated became

mes-a-n-né-pà-d a
 lug a l-à m mu 80-x 1-a₅
 mes-a-n-né-pà-d a
 mu x 1-a₅

in the next copy and that a still later copyist, who did not realize that the blank space stood for a lacuna, added up the two reigns which both seemed to be assigned to Mes-Anne-pada.

A-Anne-pada is known from his own inscriptions (*UE* I 126 f.), where his name is written a-a-n-né-pà-d a and where he designates himself as son of Mes-Anne-pada. According to the “History of Ebmal” (*PBS* V, Nos. 6-7+*PBS* XIII, No. 48), he built the park (gir i₁₂-m a h) of Enlil in Nippur. His name is there written [a n - n] a - n é (*PBS* V, No. 6 obv. 9), a n - n a - n é (*ibid.* 1, 10), and n a - a n - n é (*PBS* XIII, No. 48 ii 2). (It has been suggested that in BM 56488 rev. iv 13 quoted above [n. 144] his name appears as *na-an-na*. More likely, however, *na-an-na* there stands for *Nanna*, the god of Ur; for *läqit ziri* is an epithet which it is natural to apply to a deity, not to a mortal.) It is not improbable that these short forms of the name derive ultimately from the King List, more exactly from the point in the tradition of that list when the lacuna mentioned above had begun to form: a-a-n-né-[p à - d a] > a-a-n-né, i.e., a-an-ne, which by assimilation of à to the following n would become a-n-a-n-né. On the forms a-n-n-a-n-né and n a - a n - n é see Gadd in *Studia Orientalia* I (1925) 25 f. and *UE* I 130. Gadd considers them “slightly different echoes of the ill-remembered A-anni-(padda).” Cf. also Poebel in *OLZ* XXVII (1924) 263.

	41b	dumu	mes-an-né-pà-da	
	41c	mu	x	i - a ₅) ¹⁴⁵
WB P ₂		mes - k i - á g - ¹⁴⁶ d n a n n a ¹⁴⁶	(emend to - n u n - n a)	
WB P ₂		147 d u m u	mes - a n - n é - p à - d a ¹⁴⁷	
WB		148] u g a l - à m ¹⁴⁸		
WB P ₂ L ₁	45	mu	36 ¹⁴⁹	i - a ₅

Col. iv

P ₂ L ₁		[e - l u - l u	mu	25	i - a ₅]
P ₂ L ₁		[b a - l u - l u	mu	36	i - a ₅]
P ₂ L ₁		[4 lug a l] ^{149a}			
P ₂ L ₁		[m u - b i		177 ¹⁵⁰	i b - a ₅]
P ₂ L ₁	5	[u r f ^{ki}	gištukul		b a - a n - s i g]
P ₂		[n a m - lug a l - b i		a - w a - a n ^{ki} - šē]	
P ₂					[ba-túm]
P ₂		[a - w a - a n ^{ki} - na]			
		[.]			lugal-àm]
	10	[mu		..	i - a ₅]
		[.]			
WB		mu		[.]	i - a ₅]
WB		k u - u l - []			
WB		mu		36	[i - a ₅]
WB (P ₂)	15		3 [lug a l]		
WB (P ₂)		mu - b i		3'56 ¹⁵²	[i b - a ₅]
WB		a - w a - a n ^{ki}	giš[tukul	ba - a] n - s i g	

¹⁴⁶⁻¹⁴⁶ P₂: - n u n - n a. As shown by an inscription of the ruler himself, U 11675 (Burrows in *UE* II 321, n. 10): [m e s - k i - á [g] - n u n lugal ur f^{ki}, P₂ has preserved the original text: m e s - k i - á g - n u n - n a. The form of WB, m e s - k i - á g - d n a n n a, must be due to mishearing in dictation (for a similar case of mishearing see n. 134 above). The "History of Ebmal" also (*PBS* V, No. 6 obv. 10; *PBS* XIII, No. 48 ii 1) has the erroneous m e s - k i - á g - d n a n n a, whereas the Nippur list of proper names (Chiera, *PBS* XI 1, No. 25 obv.) gives both forms, m e s - k i - á g - d [n a n n a] and m e s - k i - á g - n u n - n [a]. For a different solution of the problem see Poebel in *OLZ* XXVII 264. We consider the one here offered (cf. also n. 147) more probable.

¹⁴⁷⁻¹⁴⁷ Thus also P₂. The "History of Ebmal" (*PBS* V, No. 6 obv. 10; *PBS* XIII, No. 48 ii 1-2) has this ruler as son of A-Anne-pada (a n - n a - n é, n a - a n - n é). It is probable that the King List originally had a - a n - n é - p à - d a here and got m e s - a n - n é - p à - d a by dittography from the lines above. Cf. n. 148.

¹⁴⁸⁻¹⁴⁸ P₂ omits, which is obviously correct. The lugal-à m of WB must be due to dittography from m e s - a n - n é - p à - d a lugal-à m above.

41b son of Mes-Anne-pada,
 41c reigned x years; >
 Mes-kiāg-Nanna(k) (emend to Mes-
 kiāg-nunna(k)),
 son of Mes-Anne-pada,
 became king and
 45 reigned 36 years;

Col. iv

Elulu reigned 25 years;
 Balulu reigned 36 years.
 4 kings
 reigned its 177 years.
 5 Ur was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to Awan¹⁵¹
 was carried.
 In Awan
 became king
 10 and reigned . . years;

 reigned . . years;
 Kul. . . .
 reigned 36 years.
 15 3 kings
 reigned its 356 years.
 Awan was smitten with weapons;

¹⁴⁹ P₂: 30. Thus, in all probability, L₁ also, for it has the same total for the dynasty as has P₂. We must consider the text of WB original; for while ፲፲፲ (36) can easily develop into ፲ (30) through a slightly broken text: ፲፲፲, the opposite development would be difficult to account for.

^{149a} If the argument of n. 145 is accepted, this line must originally have read 5, not 4.

¹⁵⁰ P₂: ፲፲፲ (171); L₁: ፲፲፲, i.e., ፲፲ (171). This total agrees with the sum of the single reigns given in P₂. Since Mes-kiāg-nunna(k) has there a reign of 30 years whereas WB gives him 36 years, we must assume that WB's total was six units higher, i.e., 177 years.

¹⁵¹ Awan was situated in Elam not far from Susa. See Unger and Ebeling in *RLA* I 324 and the literature quoted there.

¹⁵² The figure of WB is damaged. The traces left show in the photograph as ፲፲፲, which we read as ፲፲፲ (3'56'). Langdon's rendering of the traces in *OECT* II, Pl. II, does not agree with what can be seen in the photograph. P₂ gives in the final summaries (xi 18–21) 356 years for Awan.

WB	18	n a m - l u g a l - b i		
WB		k i š i ^{ki} - š è		[ba-túm]
WB	20	k i š i ^{ki}	s u ₈ - []	
WB		l u g a l - à m		
WB		m u	201[+ x ¹⁵³	i-a ₅]
WB		d a - d a - s i g	m u [..	i-a ₅]
WB		¹⁵⁴ m á - m á - g a l - l a ¹⁵⁵	(emend to m á -	
WB		g a l - g a l - l a ¹⁵⁴	g a l - [má-lah] (?) ¹⁵⁶	
WB	25	m u	360[+ x(?) ¹⁵⁷	i-a ₅]
WB		k a - a l - b u - [u m ¹⁵⁸]		
WB		d u m u	m á - g a l - g a l - l a ¹ [?]	
WB		m u	195	i - [a ₅]
WB		š è - e	m u 360	i - [a ₅]
WB	30	G Á + Š U B - n u n - n a	m u 180	i - a ₅
WB		i - e n b i - n i (?) - i b (?) - e š ₄ (?) - t á r ¹⁵⁹		
WB		m u	290(?) ¹⁶⁰	i - a ₅
WB		¹⁶¹ l u g a l - mu ¹⁶¹	m u 360 ¹⁶²	i - a ₅
WB	L ₁		8 ¹⁶³ lug al	
WB	L ₁	35	m u - b i 3,195 ¹⁶⁴ (var. 3,792)	i [b - a ₅]
WB	L ₁		k i š i ^{ki} g i š t u k u l b a - a n - s i g	
WB	L ₁		n a m - l u g a l - b i	
WB	L ₁		h a - m a - z i ¹⁶⁵ k i - š è	b a - t ú m

¹⁵³ 𒂔¹⁵³ 𒂔, i.e., 201+x (x less than 5).

¹⁵⁴⁻¹⁵⁴ The name appears as m á - g a l - g a l - l a¹ below in l. 27. That this is the correct form is shown by an omen which refers to this king (A. Boissier, *Choix de textes relatifs à la divination assyro-babylonienne I* [Genève, 1905] 47, Nos. 17-18): m á (see Boissier, n. 110)-gal-gal ¹⁶malahhu šá kiš-šu-tam épūšuš ina libbi aš-šu šu-ul-la-lú i-du-uk'-šu, "Magalgal, the skipper, who exercised emperorship; in the midst of his city a snake (*bul-lálu* is a synonym of *nēš qaqqari* [AH, pp. 440 f.], which according to the Gilgames epic, Tablet XI 296, seems to be a [general or specific?] term for a snake) killed him." The name m á - g a l - g a l is obviously identical with m á - g a l - g a l or l u - m á - g a l - g a l (ŠL, No. 122.59), a term for a special kind of sailor or skipper.

¹⁵⁵ Photograph has 𒂔¹⁵⁵, i.e., l a¹.

¹⁵⁶ Since Magalgal in the omen quoted above (n. 154) is designated as m á - l a b₄ (*malahhu*), "skipper," we should probably restore this word in the lacuna after his name.

¹⁵⁷ 𒂔 š u - š i [] = 360+x (x less than 60).

¹⁵⁸ This restoration was suggested by Langdon (*OECT II* 14).

¹⁵⁹⁻¹⁵⁹ The line gives no sense as it stands and is clearly corrupt. We have assumed that it represents an effort on the part of the scribe to render as exactly as he could a damaged original which he did not understand: i - e n b i¹⁵¹ - i b - e š₄ - t á r. See the detailed discussion on p. 169 and cf. the parallel cases in cols. ii 28 (n. 85 above) and vii 31 (n. 291 below), where an original gloss has similarly worked down into the line.

18 its kingship
to Kish was carried.

20 In Kish Su. . . .
became king
and reigned $201+x$ years;
Dadasig reigned . . years;
Mamagalla (emend to Magalgalla),
a skipper(?),¹⁵⁶

25 reigned $360+x$ (?) years;
Kalbum,
son of Magalgalla,
reigned 195 years;
ŠE-e reigned 360 years;

30 GÁ+ŠUB-nun-na reigned 180 years;
Enbi-Eshtar(?)
reigned 290(?) years;
Lugalmu reigned 360 years.
8 kings

35 reigned its 3,195 (var. 3,792) years.
Kish was smitten with weapons;
its kingship
to Hamazi¹⁶⁶ was carried.

¹⁵⁶ The figure, ፩፩ as given in *OECT* II, Pl. II, is inconsistent with the Sumerian numerical system and cannot be correct. In the photograph the figure shows as ፩፩, which makes quite clear what has happened. The scribe by accident wrote the third wedge of the upper row so close to the second that the latter was practically blotted out, and he therefore added a new, clear wedge. The figure is therefore meant to represent 290.

¹⁶¹⁻¹⁶¹ Langdon (*OECT* II 6) translates lugal-mu as "a king by name" and suggests that it is "a substitute for a name which our late compiler did not know." Lugal-mu could indeed be the remnant of a copyist's note, lugal-mu-nu-tuk, "a king without name" (cf. vii 28, to which Langdon also refers); but, since lugal-mu is a well attested Sumerian name (see e.g. the instances listed by Schneider in *Orientalia* No. 23 [1927] p. 156, No. 2165, and cf. also the following names which begin with lugal-mu-), it seems simpler to assume that there actually was a king of Kish by that name.

¹⁶² Thus apparently L₁ also, where ፩ can be restored as ፩.

¹⁶³ Thus apparently L₁ also, where ፩ can be restored as ፩.

¹⁶⁴ L₁: 3,792. It is impossible to say which is the more correct.

¹⁶⁵ L₁: - z i - .

¹⁶⁶ The city is mentioned in the inscription of Utuk (*SAK*, p. 160), who styles himself "defeater of Hamazi" (cīn-ŠE ፩ a - m a - z^{1ki}). People from Hamazi are frequently mentioned in texts of the Agade period from Nuzi (T. J. Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi . . . III. Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi* ["Harvard Semitic Series" X

WB	L ₁	39 ḥ a - m a - z ¹⁶⁷	ḥ a - t á - n i - i š
	L ₁	39a <lugal- à m> ¹⁶⁹	
WB	L ₁	40 m u 6̄šu-ši ¹⁷⁰ (emend to 6?) ¹⁷¹ i - a ₅ ¹⁷¹	(probably old lacuna here) ¹⁷²
WB (P ₂)		1 (emend to 1+x?) ¹⁷² l u g a l	
WB (P ₂)		m u - b i 6̄šu-ši ¹⁷³ (emend to 6+x?)	
		í b ¹⁷⁴ - a ₅	
WB		ḥ a - m a - z ¹⁷⁵ g i š t u k u l b a - a n - s i g	
WB	Su ₃	n a m - l u g a l - b i u n u g ¹⁷⁶ - š e b a -	
		t ú m	

(Cambridge, Mass., 1935)] Nos. 143:15, 153 iii 25, 154 ii 10, and 155 v 8); the name is in all cases written ḥ a - m a - z i^{ki}. During the period of the 3d dynasty of Ur a certain Ur-Ishkur(ak) is known as *ishakku* of Hamazi (Langdon, *Tablets from the Archives of Drehem* [Paris, 1911] No. 53). The name of the city is in this period most often written ḥ a - m a - z i^{ki} (Langdon, *loc. cit.*; H. de Genouillac, *La trouvaille de Drehem* [Paris, 1911] No. 69). As ḥ a - m a - z i^{ki} (var. ḥ a - à m - z i^{ki}) it also occurs in the inscription of Arad-Nanna(k), s u k k a l - m a ḥ of Shū-Sin of Ur, who styles himself “*ishakku* of Hamazi and Ganhar.” The older writing ḥ a - m a - z i^{ki} has not completely disappeared, however, for an unpublished text quoted by Forrer in *RLA* I 231, which seems to date from shortly after the 3d dynasty of Ur, has it, and a copy of a historical(?) inscription from the Isin-Larsa period (Chiera, *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents* [OIP XVI (1934)] No. 98 obv. 6) also refers to the city as ḥ a - m a - z i^{ki} (m a - d a ḥ a - m a - z [i^{ki}]). Hamazi seems to have lost all importance toward the end of the Isin-Larsa period, for as far as I know it is never referred to in later texts. Since it is mentioned by Arad-Nanna(k) in close connection with Ganhar and since people from Hamazi appear in texts from Nuzi, it should without doubt be located in the mountainous region east of Kirkuk, near modern Sulaimaniyyah.

¹⁶⁷ L₁: - z i^{ki} - a .

¹⁶⁸ Probably abbreviation of a longer name such as *ḥatāniš-qabt, “He (a god) promises to protect” (on -iš with infinitive see W. von Soden in *ZA* n.F. VII [1933] 105 ff.). This ruler is mentioned—somewhat unexpectedly—in the famous list of gods AN: ^dan-nu-um (cf. Hommel in *ZA* n.F. II [1925] 82). The section in question reads:

18 ^d l u m - m a	šu	Lumma, pronounced as written;
19 ^d ḥ a - t á - n i - i [š]	[š]u m i n u t u k é - k u r - r a - k e ₄	Hatāniš, pronounced as written; both manes of E-kur.
20 ^d en - l i l - l á - z [i]	n u - b à n d a é - k u r - r a - k e ₄	Enlilla(k)-zi(d), <i>laputtu</i> of E-kur.
21 ^d ur - ^d s i n - n a	n i m g i r è š - b a r - r a - k e ₄	Ur-Sīna(k), <i>nāgiru</i> of Esh-barra.

Text: *CT* XXIV (1908) Pl. 6:18-21. Variants: (1) *CT* XXV, Pl. 28, Bu 89-4-26, 77:3, ^dl u m - b a / m a ; (2) *ibid.* l. 5 adds - à m after m i n ; (3) in *CT* XXIV, Pl. 22, the explanatory note beginning with m i n runs from l. 116, which deals with ^dLumma, down to l. 117, which deals with ^dHatāniš. The prototype of AN: ^dan-nu-um, AO 5376, published

39 In Hamazi Hatānish¹⁶⁸
 39a <became king and>
 40 reigned 6×60 (emend to 6?) years;
 (probably old lacuna here)
 1 king (emend to 1+x kings?)
 reigned its 6×60 (emend to 6+x?) years.

Hamazi was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to Uruk was carried.

by de Genouillac in *RA* XX (1923) 98 f. and *TRS* I, Pls. XXV-XXXI, which seems to date back to the Isin period, also contains our section; obv. ii 4-7 (in *RA* = ll. 53-56 in *TRS*) reads: *du m - m a ḏa - tā - n i - iš de n - līl - lā - zi ḏu r - ḏi n*.

How Hatānish, a conqueror from Hamazi, came to be included in the official Sumerian pantheon is fairly clear from the list itself, which styles "Hatānish a *hērōs*, literally "ghost" (*u t u k*), of E-kur. That the ghosts, the manes, of Hatānish and of Lumma (better known under his other name, E-Anna(k)-tum; see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 166) were worshiped in the Enlil temple in Nippur can only mean that these kings had erected statues of themselves there, providing for offerings to the statues and thereby to their manes after they died. The passage is thus of some historical importance, since this would seem to imply that Hatānish actually possessed Nippur. On the following two deities, *Enlilla(k)-zi(d)* and *Ur-Sna(k)*, who also seem to be deified human beings, see Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender*, p. 28, n. 13. Concerning cult of the manes of deceased kings compare the lists of offerings to statues of *Ur-Nanshe(k)*, *En-temena*, *Lugal-anda*, etc. published by Deimel in *Orientalia* No. 28 (1928) pp. 25 ff. *ITT* IV, No. 7310 rev. i 26-28, mentions offerings to a statue of Gudea. Cf. also Deimel, "Die Listen über den Ahnenkult aus der Zeit Lugalandas und Urukaginas," *Orientalia* No. 2 (1920) pp. 32-51.

¹⁶⁹ *L₁* adds [l u g a l] - à m , "became king," which is obviously correct. The omission of this phrase in WB must be due to accident.

¹⁷⁰ Thus according to the photograph; since *š u - š i* is in small script, which shows it to be a gloss, the original probably read 6. The figure is not preserved in *L₁*. Cf. n. 173.

¹⁷¹ Thus according to the photograph; the additional *i b* in Langdon's copy is erroneous.

¹⁷² See n. 174.

¹⁷³ Thus according to the photograph; since *š u - š i* is written in small script, which shows it to be a gloss (cf. n. 170), the original probably had 6. *P₂* gives in its final summary one king and *W* (7 or 420) years for Hamazi. We have no opinion as to whether the *W* of WB or the *W* of *P₂* is original.

¹⁷⁴ Thus according to the photograph; the *i* - of Langdon's copy is erroneous. The collective *i b - a₅*, remnant of an earlier form of this total operating with more than one king, indicates that part of the Hamazi dynasty has been lost in a lacuna sometime in the course of tradition. Cf. pp. 25 and 50 f. for similar cases in *Su₁* and *Su₃₊₄*.

WB	Su ₃	45	u n u ^{ki} - g a ¹⁷⁵	e n - š a k á _n ¹⁷⁶ - š a ₄ - a n -	
				n a	
WB	Su ₃		l u g a l - à m	mu 1 š u - š i ¹⁷⁷	ì - a ₅
WB	Su ₃		¹⁷⁸ n a m - l u g a l - b i	mu 2 š u - š i	ì - a ₅
WB				mu 7 ¹⁷⁹	ì - a ₅ ¹⁷⁸
				(Emend ll. 47-48 to read	
		47a	l u g a l - k i - n i - š e - d u ₇ - d u ₇		
		47b	mu x+2	i - a ₅	
		47c	l u g a l - k i s a l - s i		
		47d	d u m u l u g a l - k i - n i - š e - d u ₇ - d u ₇		
		48a	mu x+7	i - a ₅	
(P ₂)		48b		3 l u g a l	
		48c	mu - b i	..	i b - a ₅)

Col. v

Su ₁		180	[u n u g ^{ki} ə̄s̄ t u k u l	b a - a n - s i g]
Su ₁			[n a m - l u g a l - b i u r i ^{ki} - š e	b a - t ú m]
Su ₁			[u r 1 ^{ki} - m a l u g a l - k i - n i - š è - d u ₇ - d u ₇]	
Su ₁			[l u g a l - à m mu ..	ì - a ₅]
Su ₁	5		[l u g a l - k i s a l - s i]	
Su ₁			[d u m u l u g a l - k i - n i - š è - d u ₇ - d u ₇]	
Su ₁			[mu ..	ì - a ₅]
Su ₁			[. . . . - g i ₄ (?)]	
Su ₁			[m u ..	ì - a ₅]
Su ₁	10		[k a(?) - k ù]	
WB	Su ₁		[d u m u .. - g i ₄] - 1 ^k e ₄ ¹	
WB	Su ₁		[m u ..	ì] - 1 ^k a ₅ ¹⁸⁰
WB	Su ₁			[4] ¹⁸¹ l u g a l
WB			m u - b i	[116] ¹⁸¹ i b - a ₅
	15		[u r i ^{ki} ə̄s̄ t u k u l	b a - a n - s i g]
L ₁			[n a m - l u g a l - b i a d a b a ^{ki} - š è	b a - t ú m]

¹⁷⁵ Su₃₊₄: - a₄.¹⁷⁶ On this reading of the sign and on the identification of this ruler with En-shakush-An-na(k) see p. 171.¹⁷⁷ The figure is not preserved in Su₃₊₄.¹⁷⁸⁻¹⁷⁹ The text of WB is badly corrupted here: n a m - l u g a l - b i belongs to the formula for change of dynasty; m u 2 š u - š i (120) i - a₅ and m u 7 i - a₅ are from formulas for single reigns. Apparently the scribe has given a few disconnected passages still readable in a much broken original. The damage is old, as shown by Su₃₊₄: [] - a n - d é - a

45 In Uruk En-shakush-Anna(k)(?)

became king and reigned 1×60 years;
 its kingship; reigned 2×60 years;
 reigned 7 years.

(Emend ll. 47–48 to read

47a Lugal-kinishe-dudu
 47b reigned $x+2$ years;
 47c Lugal-kisal-si,
 47d son of Lugal-kinishe-dudu,
 48a reigned $x+7$ years.
 48b 3 kings
 48c reigned its . . . years.)¹⁷⁸

Col. v

Uruk was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to Ur was carried.

In Ur Lugal-kinishe-dudu
 became king and reigned . . . years;
 5 Lugal-kisal-si,
 son of Lugal-kinishe-dudu,
 reigned . . . years;
gi
 reigned . . . years;
 10 Ka-ku(g),
 son ofgi,
 reigned . . . years.
 4 kings
 reigned its 116¹⁸¹ years.
 15 Ur was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to Adab was carried.

[] - a₅ [1 u] g a 1, which can be restored [ú - g u - b a] - a n - d é - a [. . m u - i] - a₅
 [. . 1 u] g a 1, "Somebody who has disappeared reigned . . . years. . . kings"
 See the detailed discussion of the passage on pp. 169–72.

¹⁷⁸ Thus according to the photograph (cf. Langdon's translation).

^{180–181} The restoration of this section is based on the traces left in Su₁. See the detailed discussion of the section on pp. 175 f.

¹⁸¹ Restored on the basis of the dynasty total, which can be reconstructed in P₂. See pp. 173–75.

L ₁	17	[a d a b a ^{ki}] ¹⁸²	lu gal - a n - n é - mu - u n - d ù]	
L ₁		[lu gal - à m m ù 90] ¹⁸⁴	í - a ₅]	(probably old lacuna here) ¹⁸⁴
WB L ₁		[1] (emend to 1+x?) ¹⁸⁴	lu gal	
WB L ₁	20	[m u - b i 9]0 ¹⁸⁵	í b ¹⁸⁶ - a ₅	
WB L ₁		[a d a b a ^{ki}] ^{gīš} tukul b a - a n - s ì g		
WB L ₁ Su ₁		[n a m - lu gal - b]i ¹⁸⁷ m a - e r i ^{ki} - š è ¹⁸⁷		
		b a - t ú m		
WB L ₁ Su ₁		[m a - e r i ^{ki}] - š è ¹⁸⁸	a n - s u d ₄ ¹⁸⁹	
WB L ₁ Su ₁		[lu gal - à m] m u 30	í - a ₅	
WB L ₁	25	[? ¹⁹⁰ - z i] d u m u a n - s u d ₄ - k e ₄		
WB		[mu 17(?)] ¹⁹¹	í - a ₅	
WB		[] - lu gal m u 30	í - a ₅	
WB		[] ¹⁹² - l ú - g a l m u 20	í - a ₅	
WB		[] - ^l b i ¹ - MUŠ ₄ - M A Š m u 30	í - a ₅	
WB	30	[] - n i m u 9	í - a ₅	
WB		[⁶] lu gal		
WB		[m u - b i] 136 i ¹⁹³ (emend to ^l b) - a ₅		
WB		[m a - e r i ^{ki} ^{gīš} tukul] b a - a n - s ì g		
WB		[n a m - lu gal] - b i		

¹⁸² L₁ adds - a.

¹⁸³ Two copies of an inscription of this ruler are known (Poebel, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents . . . Chiefly from Nippur* [BE VI 2 (1909)] No. 130, p. 123 and Pl. 57; PBS V, No. 75; transliteration and translation by Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII [1934] 40-46). They were written in the reigns of Ammi-Šaduqa and Abi-Eshuh. The text deals with the building of the temple of Nintu in Adab, é-n a m - z u, and of the establishing of offerings and rites of this temple. Güterbock (*op. cit.* pp. 46 f.) is of the opinion that this inscription is a late literary composition. This seems possible but is far from certain. The name is written lu gal - a n - n a - m u - u n - d ù (PBS V, No. 75) and lu gal - a n - n é - m u - u n - d ù (BE VI 2, No. 130), whereas the King List (L₁) has lu gal - a n - n é - m u - u n - d ù.

¹⁸⁴ See n. 186.

¹⁸⁵ ≈, which can be restored ≈ (90); L₁: 90.

¹⁸⁶ Thus in both WB and L₁; it would therefore seem to be original. But if the collective form of the verb is old, we can assume that the dynasty originally had more rulers than Lugal-Anne-munu and that the others have been lost in the course of tradition. Langdon also (*OECT* II 5) considers it probable that this dynasty once comprised several kings.

¹⁸⁷⁻¹⁸⁷ Thus also L₁; Su₁ places the dynasty of Maeri after Akshak and apparently before Kish III+IV. Since the order of WB is represented in both the A branch (WB) and the B branch (L₁) of the tradition, we must consider it original. That the city name should be read m a - e r i^{ki} rather than m a - r i^{ki} has been shown by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XXXI (1934) 83 f.

17 In Adab Lugal-Anne-mundu¹⁸³

became king and reigned 90 years;
(probably old lacuna here)

1 king (emend to 1+x kings?)

20 reigned its 90 years.

Adab was smitten with weapons;
its kingship to Maeri was carried.

To (emend to In) Maeri Ansud
became king and reigned 30 years;

25zi, son of Ansud,
reigned 17(?) years;

. . . .-lugal reigned 30 years;

. . . .-lú-ga1 reigned 20 years;

. . . .bi-MUŠ4-MAŠ reigned 30 years;

30ni reigned 9 years.

6 kings

reigned its 136 years.

Maeri was smitten with weapons;
its kingship

¹⁸³ L₁: - a ; Su₁ omits. The -š ē of WB is erroneous, due to dittography of m a - e r i k i - š ē in the line above.

¹⁸⁴ The sign is BU in WB and L₁; Su₁ is too broken to allow a decision. Contrary to Landsberger (*OLZ* XXXIV [1931] 127) a variant AN-SUD on which he bases his reading il-šu does not occur in the King List. It seems, however, to appear elsewhere; for the traces on the macehead U 11678 can only be those of 'AN-SUD¹ l u [g a l] (see the photograph, *UE* II, Pl. 183 e, which gives Burrows in *UE* II 322 read 'a n - b u¹ l u g a l¹; the catalogue, *ibid.* p. 572, apparently 'u t u¹). In the inscription of this king's daughter (*UET* I, No. 12) his name is written AN-BU. The same variation between BU and SUD met with in this name occurs also in z i - u₄ - s u d - r a (see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 49). Since the Greek transliterations Σιουδρα, Σιουνδρα, Σιουδρος, etc. show that this name was pronounced Zi(u)sudra, we must assume that BU had the value s u d₄. As shown by the writing a n - s u d in U 11678, BU has this value in the name under discussion, and we have therefore adopted the reading a n - s u d₄.

¹⁸⁵ Only one sign seems to be missing before -zi. Legrain's copy gives , which could be remnants of g a z .

¹⁸⁶ The figure is not preserved in any of the versions. Our restoration of 17 is arrived at by subtraction of the reigns preserved from the dynasty total.

¹⁸⁷ is preserved in the lacuna before -lú-.

¹⁸⁸ Error for i b - .

WB		35	[<i>kis̩i^{ki}-še</i>] ¹⁹⁴	b a - t ú m
WB S	Su ₃		[<i>k i š i^{ki}</i>] ¹⁹⁵	k ù - ⁴ <i>b a - b a₆</i> ¹⁹⁶
WB S	Su ₃		¹⁹⁷ [<i>mu₁₀</i>] ú - k u r u n] - n a ¹⁹⁷	
WB S	Su ₃		[<i>s u h u š¹⁹⁹</i> <i>k i š i</i>] ^{ki}	<i>m u - u n - g i</i> ²⁰⁰ - n a
WB S	Su ₃		²⁰² [<i>l u g a l</i>] - à ²⁰² <i>m</i>	<i>m u</i> 100 ²⁰³ i - a ₅
WB		40		1 <i>l u g a l</i>
WB			<i>m u - b i</i>	100
WB			<i>k i š i^{ki}</i>	<i>g iš t u k u l</i> b a - a n - s i g

¹⁹⁴ P₂, L₁, and Su₁ also must have had this arrangement. The fact that P₂ lists four dynasties of Kish (xi 5-6) means that it must have counted Ku(g)-Baba as a separate dynasty. L₁ has after the dynasty of Akshak a dynasty of Kish beginning with Ku(g)-Baba's son, Puzur-Sin, just as in WB; here also Ku(g)-Baba must have been counted as a separate dynasty preceding Akshak. In Su₁, finally, the dynasty total giving 7 rulers (vi 8) shows that it had a Puzur-Sin dynasty as in WB, i.e., that Ku(g)-Baba must have been listed separately. A different arrangement is found in S and Su₃₊₄, where Ku(g)-Baba has been moved down after Akshak and appears as first ruler of the dynasty which in the other versions begins with her son.

Since the arrangement with Ku(g)-Baba as a separate dynasty before Akshak is attested in both main branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: P₂, L₁, and Su₁), it should be original, and this is also shown by a consideration of the variant itself. The arrangement found in WB, P₂, L₁, and Su₁ can very easily have been changed in the course of tradition to that of S and Su₃₊₄, for it is obvious that any copyist who noted that in his original Ku(g)-Baba was separated from her son by a complete dynasty would feel a strong urge to correct this absurdity and move her down to join her son and his successors. While a development from the arrangement of WB, P₂, L₁, and Su₁ to that of S and Su₃₊₄ would thus be very natural, it is clearly impossible to imagine that any copyist should have changed the plausible-looking arrangement in the latter texts to that of WB etc. It is therefore clear that WB, P₂, L₁, and Su₁ are original on this point.

As we shall see below (p. 177), the author of the King List arrived at his curious arrangement because he possessed a synchronism showing that the dynasty of Akshak was roughly contemporaneous with Ku(g)-Baba; and the quite unbelievable reign which he has assigned to that ruler, 100 years, was meant to carry her across the 99 years of the Akshak dynasty down to the time of her son (first realized by Langdon, *OECT* II 7). See also the discussion of this variant on pp. 53 f.

¹⁹⁵ S adds - a ; Su₃₊₄ adds - a₄ .

¹⁹⁶ This queen is mentioned in the list of postdiluvian rulers "not arranged in order" given in V R 44 i 14, and her name is there translated "*ba-ba₆ el-lit*," "Baba is bright" (Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 129 f., rejects—hardly with right—this translation and suggests that the name means "silver of Baba"). An omen (*CT* XXVIII [1910] Pl. 6, K 766:2-3) refers to "*kù⁴ba-ba₆ ša mata i-be-lu₄*," "The woman Ku(g)-Baba who ruled the land." An anecdote concerning her and Puzur-Nirah of Akshak is related in Chronicle Weidner (see Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 51 and 54). We have retained for the name of the goddess ⁴BA-Ú the reading ⁴b a - b a₆ suggested by Jensen in Thureau-Dangin, *Les homophones sumériens* (Paris, 1929) p. 40, although Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XXXII (1935) 150 has advocated a reading of the last sign as b u₈. The passages in favor of reading b u₈, namely phonetic renderings such as ⁴b a - b u₈, are all late and can (as stated in *Les homophones sumériens*, p. 40) represent an Akkadianized form *Babû*, *Babi*, derived from Sumerian B a b a like

35 to Kish was carried.

In Kish Ku(g)-Baba,
a barmaid,¹⁹⁸

the one who consolidated the foundation of Kish,²⁰¹
became "king" and reigned 100 years.

40 1 king

reigned its 100 years.

Kish was smitten with weapons;

Mamī, Mamī, from *M a m a*. The reading *b a₆*, on the other hand, has the support of a phonetic writing dating back to the *Isin* period, namely *SRT*, No. 5 rev. 41-43: úr m u - t i - i n - n a - š è d i - d i - d è b a - b a g a - b a - h úl - h úl - l e - e n - d è - e n ^{db} a - b a₆ SAL - l a - m à - k e₄ - e š g a - b a - h úl - h úl - l e - e n - d è - e n , "Going toward the embrace of the husband, O Baba, we will rejoice; O Baba, on account of my . . . we will rejoice," where *b a - b a* in l. 41 obviously corresponds to ^{db} *a - b a₆* in l. 43.

¹⁹⁷⁻¹⁹⁷ Thus both *S* and *Su₃₊₄*. It is not impossible that *WB* had *m u₁₀ - k u r u n - n a*, which is a better form (see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 129, n. 4.); cf. n. 199.

¹⁹⁸ Lit., "a wine-woman." We have adopted Barton's translation (*RISA*, p. 343) in preference to the perhaps more exact but also more pedantic terms "a female wine seller" (Langdon, *OECT* II 15) and "hostess of a tavern" (Gadd, *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 4).

¹⁹⁹ Thus *S* and—to judge from the spacing—almost certainly *WB*; *Su₃₊₄*: *m u₁₀ s u h u š*. As *m u₁₀* is omitted in both main branches of the tradition (A branch: *WB*; B branch: *S*), the form without it must be nearer the original. On the other hand, since parallelism with the other "historical notes" seems to call for a relative pronoun here and since, strictly speaking, the agreement of *WB* and *S* only shows us a text preceding the separation of the two main branches of the tradition, it seems just possible that the earliest form of the text had *l ú* at this point. This *l ú* might then be responsible for the incorrect *m u₁₀ l ú - k u r u n - n a* instead of *m u₁₀ - k u r u n - n a* in the line above (see n. 197).

²⁰⁰ Thus *S* also; *Su₃₊₄*: - *g i 4 -*.

²⁰¹ The meaning of the phrase is that *Ku(g)-Baba* "laid the foundations for the political and economical strength and importance of the city" (Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 129).

²⁰²⁻²⁰² *Su₃₊₄* omits; *S*: *l u g a l - à m*.

²⁰³ This abnormally long reign represents—as noted by Langdon—an effort to carry *Ku(g)-Baba* across the 99 years of the dynasty of *Akshak* which the author had inserted between her and her son *Puzur-Sin* (see n. 194 above and p. 177; cf. also pp. 159 f.). The original figure for *Ku(g)-Baba*'s reign, that assigned to her in the source used by the author of the King List, is unknown. The emendation of the present figure to 14, suggested by Peiser in *OLZ* XV (1912) 154 f. and by Poebel *ibid.* col. 290, was based (1) on the assumption that an original ~~4~~ had been misread as ~~4~~, which must be considered highly unlikely, and (2) on a particular explanation of the difference in *S* between the sum of the single reigns and the dynasty total which at that time seemed plausible but which other versions of the King List, found after Peiser and Poebel wrote, have shown to be erroneous. (The true explanation of this difference is that original ~~44~~, i.e., 400, for *Ur-Zababa(k) > 44 > 4*, i.e., 6; see n. 218 below.) There is thus nothing in favor of this emendation, and it should be definitively abandoned.

WB	43	n a m - l u g a l - b i <šè> ²⁰⁵ b a - t ú m	²⁰⁴ u ₄ - k u š ú ^{ki} ²⁰⁴ -	
WB S Su ₁ G		u ₄ - k u š ú ^{ki} - š è ²⁰⁶	u n - z i	
WB S Su ₁ G	45	l u g a l - à m mu	3[0 ²⁰⁷ i - a ₅]	
WB S Su ₁ G		u n - d a - l u - l u mu	6 ²⁰⁸ (emend to 12) i - a ₅	
WB S Su ₁ G		u r - u r mu	6 i - a ₅	
		Col. vi		
S Su ₁ G		[p ú z u r - d n i r a b ²⁰⁹ mu	20 i - a ₅]	
S Su ₁ G		[i - š u - i l mu	24 i - a ₅]	
S Su ₁		[š u - d s ì n d u m u i - š u - i l ²¹⁰ mu	7 ²¹¹ i - a ₅]	
S Su ₁			[6 l u g a l]	
L ₁ S Su ₁	5	[m u - b i 99 ²¹²	í b - a ₅]	
WB L ₁ S Su ₁		u ₄ - k u š ú ^{ki} g i š t u k u l	[b a - a n - s ì g]	
WB L ₁ S Su ₁		[n a m] - l u g a l - b i		
WB L ₁ S Su ₁		k i š i ^{ki} - š è ²¹³	b a - t ú m	
WB L ₁ S Su ₃		k i š i ^{ki} ²¹⁴	p ú z u r - d s ì n	
WB L ₁ S Su ₃	10	d u m u k ù - d b a - b a ₆ - k e ₄ ²¹⁵		
WB L ₁ S Su ₃		²¹⁶ l u g a l - à m ²¹⁶ mu	25 i - a ₅	
WB L ₁ S		²¹⁷ l u r ¹ - d z a - b a ₄ - b a ₄ ²¹⁷		

²⁰⁴⁻²⁰⁴ The reading of the ideogram úg^{ki} as Akshak was proved by a variant in the Nahr el-Kelb inscription of Nebuchadnezzar (E. Unger and F. H. Weissbach in *ZA* XXIX [1914/15] 183). That this reading is original is shown by the "ideogram" itself, which is clearly an old phonetic writing u₄ - k u š ú representing a pronunciation ák áš á(k). Note also the early passages l u g a l u₄ - k u š ú^{ki} - k a (= l u g a l . . . k - a (k)), "the king of . . . k" (E-Anna(k)-tum, *SAK*, p. 20 b iv 25), and l ú u₄ - k u š ú^{ki} - k a - k e₄ l ú k i š i^{ki} - k e₄ (= l u . . . k - a - k - e l u K i š i - (a) k - e), "the man of . . . k (and) the man of Kish" (En-shakush-Anna(k), *PBS* IV 1, p. 151, ll. 13 f.), which show that the name ends in *k*.

²⁰⁵ - š è omitted by mistake; the copyist looked at u₄ - k u š ú^{ki} one line too far down.

²⁰⁶ S and G: - a ; Su₁ omits. The - š è in WB is dittography from u₄ - k u š ú^{ki} - š è, which appeared in the preceding line in the scribe's original.

²⁰⁷ ~~44~~; restore ~~44~~ (30) after S.

²⁰⁸ Dittography from m u 6 i - a₅ in following line. S has 12, which is correct as shown by the correspondence of the resulting dynasty total, 99 years, with the 100 years assigned to Ku(g)-Baba. See p. 177.

²⁰⁹ On this reading see Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, pp. 60 f.

²¹⁰ Thus Su₁; S adds - k e₄.

²¹¹ Thus S; Su₁: 24, by dittography from the similar i - š u - i l 24 m u i - a₅ (or - n a?) in the preceding line.

43 its kingship <to>²⁰⁵ Akshak²⁰⁴ was carried.

To (emend to In) Akshak Unzi
 45 became king and reigned 30 years;
 Undalulu reigned 6 (emend to 12) years;

Ur-ur reigned 6 years;

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Puzur-Nirah reigned 20 years;
 Ishû-il reigned 24 years;
 Shû-Sîn, son of Ishû-il, reigned 7 years.

6 kings
 5 reigned its 99 years.
 Akshak was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship
 to Kish was carried.
 In Kish Puzur-Sîn,
 10 son of Ku(g)-Baba,
 became king and reigned 25 years;
 Ur-Zababa(k),²¹⁷

²¹² Thus L₁ and S; Su₁ has 𒂔𒀭 = 𒂔𒀭 (116), due to its erroneous figure, 24, for the reign of Shû-Sîn (see n. 211).

²¹³ Thus also L₁; Su₁ places the dynasty of Maeri here (see n. 187 above).

²¹⁴ L₁ adds -a. In S and Su₃₊₄, where Puzur-Sîn is the second king of the dynasty (see n. 194 above), there are, of course, no introductory formulas with his name.

²¹⁵ Thus S and L₁ also; Su₃₊₄ omits.

²¹⁶ Thus L₁ also. In S and Su₃₊₄, where Puzur-Sîn is the second king of the dynasty (see n. 194 above), there are, of course, no introductory formulas with his name.

²¹⁷⁻²¹⁷ On the reading of the divine name ^dZA-MAL-MAL as ^dz a - b a₄ - b a₄ see Ungnad in *OLZ* XXV (1922) 202 f. and especially Weidner in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* II (1924/25) 13. Weidner gives good reasons for doubting the authenticity of the variant reading ^dIlbab(a) (*ibid.* n. 7). The evidence lately produced in its favor by Ungnad (*OLZ* XL [1937] 733, n. 1, a reference which we owe to Dr. Gelb) seems to us too uncertain to alter the situation materially. On the reading of the name cf. also the musical instrument ^{zis}ur-za-ba-bi-ti (vars. [ur-za-b[a(?)-b]i-tu[m], ur-za-bi-tum, and ^{zis}ur-za-pi[?]-tu[?]] mentioned in the third tablet of dir i = DIR = *sizaku* = *watru*, which was named after our king (A. Falkenstein and L. Matouš in *ZA* n.F. VIII 147).

According to the note in l. 33, Sargon of Agade was originally cupbearer of Ur-Zababa(k). An anecdote concerning Ur-Zababa(k) and Sargon is related in Chronicle Weidner (Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 49 and 52). Ur-Zababa(k) is mentioned in the legend of Sargon and

WB L ₁ S	13	[d u m u]	púzur- ^d síñ-ke ₄
WB L ₁ S		[m] u	400 ²¹⁸ i-a ₅
WB S Su ₁ Su ₄	15	²¹⁹ [sí-m] u-dar-rá ²²⁰ ²¹⁹ mu 30 ²²¹ i-a ₅	
WB S Su ₄		²²² ú ¹ -sí-wa-tá-r <dum u sí-mu- dar-rá-ke ₄ ²²² mu 7 ²²³ i-a ₅ ²²⁴	
WB S Su ₁		225e š ₄ -tá-r ²²⁵ -mu-ti mu 11 ²²⁶ i-a ₅	
WB S Su ₁		227i š-m [e] ²²⁷ -dša maš mu 11 i-a ₅ ²²⁸	
WB S		229n a-a-n-n-i-a ²²⁹ z adim ²³⁰ mu 7 ²³¹ i-a ₅	

Lugal-zage-si, AO 7673 (Scheil in *RA* XIII [1916] 175-79; H. de Genouillac, *TRS* II, No. 73 [Pl. CXLII a]; cf. Güterbock, *op. cit.* p. 37). In later times he was considered a god and appears as GUD-DÚB of Ninurta in the series AN: ^dan-nu-um (*CT* XXIV, Pl. 8:5; Deimel, *Pantheon babylonicum*, No. 1241).

²¹⁸ S: ፭ (6). Since the dynasty total given in S, 586 years, presupposes that S originally had the same figure as WB, 400 years, for the reign of Ur-Zababa(k), the present 6 must have developed from original ፭ (400) through a damaged text in which the tens were broken away: ፭. Why such an extremely high figure was assigned to Ur-Zababa(k) is uncertain. Perhaps the author had reasons similar to those which made him give Ku(g)-Baba 100 years (see n. 203 above). Langdon's explanation (*OECT* II 16, n. 10) that ፭ originally stood for 6 40/60 is unacceptable, as such writings are never used in King List.

²¹⁹⁻²²⁰ Simu-dár appears in this place in S and apparently in Su₃₊₄, where only []-d a r is left. In Su₁ Simu-dár is listed as the last king of the dynasty, preceded by a fictitious Shú-ilišu and by Ishmē-Shamash. The order of WB, S, and Su₃₊₄, which is attested in both main branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: S and Su₃₊₄), is of course original. As for Su₁, there can be little doubt that it derives from a version in which part of the dynasty was blotted out by a serious lacuna, a lacuna which the copyist tried to restore as best he could from other broken fragments. See also the following notes.

²²⁰ S, Su₁, and Su₃₊₄ omit. The final -r a in WB is probably dittography from d u m u sí-m u d a r - r a after Úṣi-watar, which suggests that WB originally contained that phrase; see n. 222.

²²¹ Thus S also. The figure is not preserved in Su₃₊₄. Su₁, which lists Simu-dár as the last ruler of the dynasty, i.e., in the place which belongs to Nannia, also gives him Nannia's reign of 7 years. We must therefore assume that the lacuna in the original of Su₁ (see n. 219) ended just after the name of Nannia: [n a-a-n-n-i-a z adim] 7 mu i-a₅, so that the copyist has only restored a wrong name here.

²²²⁻²²³ S: ú-sí-wa-tá-r dum u sí-mu-dar-rá-ke₄. Su₃₊₄, which has [sí-m u]-dar [.. m u 1]-a₅ [ú-sí-wa]-tá-r [.. m u 1]-a₅, seems to follow WB. Since the Su texts are derived from badly damaged originals and since there are traces in WB suggesting that its original had the words d u m u sí-m u d a r - r a - k e₄ (n. 220), it is likely that S here preserves the original form of the text.

²²³ S: 6. WB's figure is more probably original, since ፭ (6) could very easily develop out of an original ፭ (7) through a slightly damaged text, as indicated in n. 231 below.

13 son of Puzur-Sin,
reigned 400 years;
15 Simu-dâr²¹⁹ reigned 30 years;
Uṣi-watar, son of Simu-dâr, reigned 7 years;

Eshtar-muti reigned 11 years;
Ishmê-Shamash reigned 11 years;
Nannia, a stonemason, reigned 7 years.

²²⁴ Su₃₊₄ gives the dynasty total after this line. It must therefore derive through a text which had a lacuna from here down to the end of the dynasty. As we have seen above (n. 219), Su₁ also shows evidence of being derived through a text with such a lacuna; so we have here further proof that Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ derive from a common ancestor (see pp. 25 and 50 f.).

²²⁵⁻²²⁶ S: 𒂔, obviously remnants of e š₄ - tār.

²²⁶ Thus S also; Su₁: 𒂔, probably remains of 𒂔 (17). It is impossible to say how this figure originated. The passage is very badly corrupted (see n. 219 above). The concurrent testimony of WB and S, representing both main branches of the tradition, of course identifies 11 as original.

²²⁷⁻²²⁸ Thus Su₁ also; S: i - m u - . Since i š - m e - is represented in both branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: Su₁), it is presumably original.

²²⁸ After this line Su₁ lists a king š u - i - l i - š u who reigned 15 years. This king can be no other than the well known Shū-ilišu of Isin; and, comparing the account of the Isin dynasty given by Su₁, we may perhaps assume that the copyist had a loose, unplaced fragment which he first used when he restored the lacuna in this section (see n. 219) but which later on he was able to place and to "join" where it actually belonged, after Su₁ viii 18:

That the source of Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ was in an utterly damaged and broken condition is evidenced by many details (see pp. 25 and 50 f. and nn. 219, 221, 224, and 226 above).

²²⁹⁻²³⁰ S omits - a n - (cf. n. 231); Su₁ restores Simu-dâr here (see n. 221).

²³⁰ This reading, first pointed out by Thureau-Dangin, *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, p. 62, is certain. That the sign is not a ဟ but ܙ a d i m is obvious from a comparison of ܙ in n a - a n - n i - a ܙ a d i m (WB vi 19) with ܙ (a ဟ / i ဟ) in b a - l i - i ဟ (WB ii 20).

²³¹ Thus Su₁ also (cf. n. 221); S has 7 (3). It is probable that the latter figure is secondary and derives from an original 7 (7) through a damaged text: 7 (cf. n. 272). Note also that some other variants in S (see nn. 223 and 229) seem due to omissions around the

WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄	20	7 ²³²	lu gal
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄		mu - b i	491 ²³³
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄		ki š i ^{ki}	gištukul
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄		nam - lu gal - bi	unug ^{ki} - š e
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄		u n u ^{ki} - g a ²³⁴	ba - a n - s i g
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄	25	lu gal - à m	lu gal - z à - g e - si
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄		mu	25
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄		1 lu gal	ì - a ₅
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄		mu < - b i > ²³⁵	25
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄		u n u g ^{ki}	gištukul
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄		nam - lu gal - bi	ba - a n - s i g
WB	S	Su ₁ Su ₄	30	a - g a - d è ²³⁶ ki - š è	ba - t ú m
WB	S	Su ₁		a - g a - d è ^{ki} ²³⁷	š a r - r u - k i - i n
WB	S			.. ²³⁸ - b a - n i	n u - g i r i i ₂ ²³⁹
WB L ₁	S			q a - š u - d u ₈	u r - d z a ²⁴⁰ - b a ₄ - b a ₄
WB L ₁	S			lu gal a - < g a - > ²⁴² d è ^{ki}	l ú a - g a - d è ^{ki}
WB L ₁	S		35	mu - u n ²⁴³ - d ù - a	
WB L ₁	S			lu gal - à m	mu
WB L ₁				mu	56 ²⁴⁵
WB L ₁				rí - mu - u š	š a r - r u - k i - i n
WB L ₁				mu	9 ²⁴⁶

middles of the lines. All these variants will be explained if we assume a single lacuna, a slightly widened crack, in some predecessor of S:

ú - š i - w a - t á r
 dum u si - mu - d a r
 mu in - a₅
 e š i - t á r - mu - t i
 mu in - a₅
 i š - me - d š a m a š
 mu in - a₅
 na - an - n i - a z a d i m
 mu in - a₅

²³² Thus Su₁ also; S, which counts Ku(g)-Baba as a member of this dynasty, has 8.

²³³ S: 586. This text counts Ku(g)-Baba (100 years) as a member of the dynasty, and the total is correct if the present figure ॥ (6) for Ur-Zababa(k) is restored to its original form ॥ (400); see n. 218. The total of Su₁, 485 years, stands apart and is probably the sum of the single reigns after the scribe had restored the lacuna found in his original (cf. nn. 219 and 221). It is thus altogether secondary.

²³⁴ Thus S and Su₁ also; Su₃₊₄: - 'a₄'.

²³⁵ Erroneously omitted in WB, probably by dittography of the similar mu 25 in the preceding line. S and Su₁ correctly: - b i.

²³⁶ Thus according to the photograph. The šAR which Langdon's copy shows here is erroneous, a modern dittography from the following line: a - g a - d è š a r - r u - k i - i n.

20 7 kings
 reigned its 491 years.
 Kish was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to Uruk was carried.
 In Uruk Lugal-zage-si

25 became king and reigned 25 years.
 1 king
 reigned its 25 years.
 Uruk was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship

30 to Agade was carried.
 In Agade Sharru(m)-kīn—
 his was a date-grower—
 cupbearer of Ur-Zababa(k),²⁴¹
 king of Agade, the one who

35 built²⁴⁴ Agade,
 became king and reigned 56 years;
 Rimush, son of Sharru(m)-kīn,
 reigned 9 years;

²³⁷ S adds *ki-* *a*, which is correct.

²³⁸ According to the photograph WB has *šar-*. S has (according to the photograph in *RA* IX [1912] opp. p. 68) *šar-*. It may be definitely stated that none of the readings thus far proposed is compatible with the sign as given by the photographs. These proposals are: Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 130, n. 10: *a b - b a - n i*, "his father"; Thureau-Dangin, *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, p. 62: *šar - ru - ki - i - n - lu - b a - n i*, "qu'un roi légitime soit créé" (proposed before WB had become known); Langdon, *OECT* II 17: *šar - ru - ki - i - n - i - lu - b a - n i*; Zimmern in *ZDMG* n.F. III 33, n. 10: *i - d i b - b a - n i*, "dessen Pflegevater?", dessen Aufnehmer?"; Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 4: *(i) - d i b - b a - n i*, "dessen 'Aufnehmer.'"

²³⁹ On this reading of *GIŠ-SAR* in our word see Poebel in *AJSL* LI (1934/35) 172.

²⁴⁰ Thus L₁ and S. The vertical wedge appearing between *z a* and *b a₄* in Langdon's copy of WB is—as shown by the photograph—part of an erased *b a₄* over which *z a* is now written.

²⁴¹ Listed as a ruler of Kish in l. 12 above. On the reading of the name see n. 217.

²⁴² Omitted in WB by mistake; preserved in L₁ and S.

²⁴³ L₁ adds *- d a -*; S is broken but seems to agree with L₁.

²⁴⁴ Var. in L₁ and S(?): "the one under whom Agade was built" (cf. n. 119 above).

²⁴⁵ L₁: 55. P₂, P₃, S, Sui, and Su₃₊₄ seem to have followed L₁ (see pp. 23-26). The figure of WB, 56, is more probably original than 55, since the latter can so easily have developed from the former through a damaged text, *šar-*, and since WB as a whole preserves the better text in this section (see pp. 26 f.).

²⁴⁶ L₁: 15. P₂, P₃, S, Sui, and Su₃₊₄ seem to have followed L₁ (see pp. 23-26). The figure of WB, 9, is original. The figure 15 seems to be due to dittography from the almost identical *dumu šar - ru - ki - in mu 15 i - a₆* in ll. 41-42 (see p. 27).

WB	L ₁		39	m a - n i - i š - ²⁴⁷ t i - i š ²⁴⁷ - š u
WB	L ₁		40	š e š - g a l r i - m u - 'u š ²⁴⁸ - u š
WB	L ₁			d u m u š a r - r u - k i - i n
WB	L ₁			m u 15 ²⁵⁰ [i - a ₅]
WB	L ₁	Su ₃		n a - r a - a m - ^{2d1} [s̄in]
WB	L ₁	Su ₃		d u m u m a - [n i - i š - t i - i š - š u]
WB	P ₃ L ₁	Su ₃	45	m u [37(?) ²⁵¹ i - a ₅]
WB	P ₃ L ₁ S	Su ₃		š [a r - ²⁵² k à - l i - š a r - r f] ²⁵²
	P ₃ L ₁	Su ₃		[d u m u n a - r a - a m - ^{2d1} s̄in]
	P ₃ L ₁	Su ₃		[m u 25 ²⁵⁴ i - a ₅] ²⁵⁵

Col. vii

WB	P ₃ L ₁	S	Su ₃	255[a - b a - à m l u] g a l ²⁵⁷ a - b a - à m
				n u l u g a l ²⁵⁶

WB	P ₃ L ₁	S	Su ₃	[258] ²⁵⁹ (var. i r) - g i ₄ ²⁶⁰] - g i ₄ ²⁶¹ l u g a l
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²⁴⁷⁻²⁴⁷ L₁: - t e - . This king's name in his own inscriptions is always written *ma-an-iš-tu-su*, which represents *man ištu-šu*, "Who is with him?" (on -šu written -su in this period cf. e.g. Ugnad in *MVAG* XX 2 [1915] p. 14). At the time of the 3d dynasty of Ur the form *ište* of the preposition *ištu/ište* became predominant, so our name changes to *Man-ishteshu* (*man ište-šu*); see W. von Soden in *ZA* n.F. VII (1933) 138 and n. 1.

²⁴⁸ WB is damaged at this point. Langdon read the traces as - š ú - ; but the photograph shows 𒊩, i.e., - 'u š - , so it is apparently a case of simple dittohraphy. It may even be that the scribe erased this first - u š - because he was not satisfied with the spacing and wrote a second one which filled out the line. L₁ has correctly r i - m u - u š .

²⁴⁹ The meaning of the name, "Who is with him?" (see n. 247), might suggest that Rīmush and Man-ishteshu were born as twins.

²⁵⁰ L₁: 7. P₂, P₃, Su₁, and Su₃₊₄ seem to have followed L₁ (see pp. 23-26). The figure of WB, which caused the wrong figure for Rīmush in L₁ (see n. 246), must be the original.

²⁵¹ L₁ has 56, agreeing with P₃'s ፩, which also can be restored as ፩ (56). In WB the figure for Narām-Sin and likewise the figures for Shar-kali-sharī and for the interregnum are missing; and if we restore them from the texts of the B group as 56, 25 (this seems better than 24; see n. 254 below), and 3 we get a much higher sum of single reigns than that indicated in WB's total, 181 years. One of these figures must therefore be too high. Using only the lower two figures, 25 for Shar-kali-sharī and 3 for the interregnum, we have 37 years left for Narām-Sin. This figure is indeed very probable; for, looking more closely at the figure 56 given for this ruler in the B group, we see that it appears just above the sign šAR of š a r - k à - l i - š a r - r i , which begins with two vertical rows of 4-wedges: ፩. A copyist could therefore easily misread the uppermost of these wedges as part of the numeral above: ፩. Thus the B figure 56 may derive from an original 36, which is very near to the 37 years left for Narām-Sin by the total of WB. We have already noted many examples of loss of a final unit by transmission through a slightly damaged text.

²⁵²⁻²⁵² Thus in P₃, L₁, and probably S (š a r - k [à - l i - š a r - r i]). Su₃ has - r instead of - k à - l i - , probably because it descended through an ancestor in which only one wedge of these signs remained, and - r i instead of - r i .

39 Man-ishtushu,
 40 the older brother²⁴⁹ of Rīmush,
 son of Sharru(m)-kīn,
 reigned 15 years;
 Narām-Sīn,
 son of Man-ishtushu,
 45 reigned 37(?) years;
 Shar-kali-sharrī,
 son of Narām-Sīn,²⁵³
 reigned 25 years.

Col. vii

Who was king? Who was not king?

Was Igigi (var. Irgigi) king?

²⁵³ In Shar-kali-sharrī's inscription given in *SAK*, p. 164 *d*, the line TUR-DA-TI ^den-lil (i 2), which is generally read *mār da-ti-^den-lil*, "son of Dati-Enlil" (doubted by Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 132, n. 4; rejected by Weissbach in *RLA* II 196), is—as first seen by Hrozný in *WZKM* XXVI (1912) 151, n. 2—in all probability an ideographic writing *litti^{ti} ^den-lil*, "offspring of Enlil" (*ŠL*, No. 144.48 *g*: TUR-DA = *lit-tum*), a title which is closely paralleled by the title *li-tum ^da-gān*, "offspring of Dagān," taken by Hammurabi (Code of Hammurabi iv 27). This passage, therefore, should not be quoted—as is sometimes done—to prove the unreliability of the King List.

²⁵⁴ Thus L₁ and Su₃; P₃ has 24. Since it is more likely that an original 25 lost a final unit in transmission than that there was an accretion of one unit, we may assume that the figure 25 attested by L₁ and Su₃ is correct.

²⁵⁵ P₃ inserts here a subtotal for the family of Sargon: ~~š~~^šar-rū-kī-nīm, which may be restored: ~~š~~^šar-rū-kī-nīm, "157 years the family of Sargon" (cf. Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 80 and 132 f.). The copyist of P₃ seems to have had a predilection for such subtotals (see n. 104 above).

^{256—256} Thus also S. Su₂ gives a-ba lugal a-ba lugal-ām, which is clearly a corrupt form of the text found in WB and S. L₁ and P₃ have the line in Akkadian: *ma-nu-um šār ma-nu-um la šār*. See the discussion of this variant on pp. 52 f.

²⁵⁷ Thus according to the photograph.

²⁵⁸ S, which writes the names of these four kings on two lines, adds a vertical wedge in front of each name, perhaps to indicate that they were arranged on four lines in its original, as is the case in the other versions.

²⁵⁹ Thus S. P₃ gives i-; L₁ and Su₃ give i r-. It is obvious that i r- is a misreading of the very similar sign i-, or vice versa, and that i- is just a variant writing of i-. Whether i- or i r- is original must remain uncertain; cf. the discussion of the section as a whole on pp. 52 f.

²⁶⁰ Thus P₃, S, and Su₃; L₁: - g i₅ -.

²⁶¹ Thus P₃, S, and Su₃ also; L₁: - g [i₅] .

WB	P ₃	L ₁	S	Su ₃	3	[²⁵⁸ n a - n u ²⁶² - u m ²⁶³]	lug al
WB	P ₃	L ₁	S	Su ₃		[²⁵⁸ i - m i]	lug al
WB	P ₃		S	Su ₃	5	[²⁵⁸ e ²⁶⁶ - l u - l u]	lug al
WB	P ₃		S	Su ₁		²⁶⁷ [4 - b i]	lug al
WB	P ₃		S	Su ₁		[m u]	³
WB	P ₃		S	<i>⟨Su₁⟩</i>		[d u - d u]	21
WB			S	<i>⟨Su₁⟩</i>		[š u - d u r - ù l]	d u m u d u - d u - k e ₄
WB			S	<i>⟨Su₁⟩</i>	10	[m u]	15
WB(P ₂)			S	Su ₁	Su ₄		11 ²⁶⁸ lug al
WB(P ₂)			S	Su ₁	Su ₄	m u - b i	181 ²⁶⁹
WB			S	Su ₁	Su ₄	a - g a - d è ^{ki}	g i s t u k u l b a - a n - s i g
WB			S	Su ₁	Su ₄	n a m - l u g a l - b i	u n u g ^{ki} - š è b a - t ú m
WB			S	Su ₁	Su ₄	15	²⁷⁰ u n u ^{ki} <- g a> ²⁷⁰ u r - n i g i n lug al -
						à m ²⁷¹	
WB			S	Su ₁	Su ₄	m u	7 ²⁷²
WB			S	Su ₁	Su ₄	u r - g i s g i g i r	d u m u u r - n i g i n ²⁷³
WB			S	Su ₁	Su ₄	m u	6 ²⁷⁴
WB			S	<i>⟨Su₁⟩</i>	<i>⟨Su₄⟩</i>	²⁷⁵ k u d - d a	m u 6
WB			S	<i>⟨Su₁⟩</i>	<i>⟨Su₄⟩</i>	20 p ú z u r - i - l í	m u 5
							i - a ₅ ²⁷⁵

²⁶² Thus L₁, S, and Su₃; P₃ - n i.

²⁶³ Thus S and Su₃. L₁ is broken here; P₃ omits.

²⁶⁴ Nanum occurs in this place in L₁ and Su₃; P₃ and S have the order Irgigi, Imi, Nanum, Elulu. Which is original? See also the discussion of this section on pp. 52 f.

²⁶⁵ In this place in L₁ and Su₃; in P₃ and S, before Nanum (see n. 264).

²⁶⁶ Thus P₃; S and Su₃: i - .

^{268a} To this king belongs probably the inscribed dagger published by Selim J. Levy in *AOF* X (1935-36) 281: *li-lu-ul* DAN šär a-ga-dè^{ki}. Gelb, who comments on this name in *AJSL* LIII (1936/37) 38, adduces evidence for a value i_x for li and proposes a reading i_x-lu-ul-dan. In view of the variant writings of the name of the e n s i (k) of Lagash *en-li-tar-zi* and *en-e-tar-zi* (cf. Poebel in *ZA* n.F. IV [1929] 82) a reading e_x-lu-ul-dan should perhaps also be taken into consideration. In either case Elulu of the King List may be considered an abbreviated form of the name.

²⁶⁷⁻²⁶⁷ This seems the best restoration of WB; it fits also Su₁ and Su₃₊₄. P₃ and S have 4 - b i 3 m u i b - a₅ (S: i n - a₅). Cf. pp. 52 f.

²⁶⁸ S: 12; Su₁ has ~~ii~~, and Su₃₊₄ has ~~ii~~, both of which probably represent ~~ii~~ (9). The figure of WB must be considered original; see p. 25, where the problems which these figures raise are discussed in detail.

3 Was Nanum²⁶⁴ king?
 Was Imi²⁶⁵ king?
 5 Was Elulu^{266a} king?
 Their tetrad was king
 and reigned 3 years!
 Dudu reigned 21 years;
 Shū-Durul, son of Dudu,
 10 reigned 15 years.
 11 kings
 reigned its 181 years.
 Agade was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to Uruk was carried.
 15 In Uruk Ur-niġin(ak) became king
 and reigned 7 years;
 Ur-gigir(ak), son of Ur-niġin(ak),
 reigned 6 years;
 Kudda reigned 6 years;
 20 Puzur-ili reigned 5 years;

²⁶⁹ S: 197. With S agreed P₂ (in final summary 197 = 197) and in all probability L₁ also. Su₁: 161; Su₃₊₄: 177. We must consider the 181 years of WB original; see pp. 23-28, where the problems raised by these figures have been discussed in detail.

²⁷⁰⁻²⁷⁰ Thus according to the photograph; the - š ē given in Langdon's copy is not in the text. S: u n u^{ki} - g a ; Su₃₊₄: u n u^{g^{ki}} - a₄ ; Su₁ omits. The correct form is obviously u n u^{ki} - g a .

²⁷¹ Thus S and Su₃₊₄ also. Su₁ erroneously: - a n , the copyist having skipped the a of A-AN = à m .

²⁷² S: 3; Su₁: 30; Su₃₊₄: 15. Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ derive in this section from a common, very much damaged, original (see pp. 25 and 50 f., also nn. 219, 221, 224, 226, and 228 above) which the scribes have tried to restore. Their evidence is accordingly of little value. As for the figures given by WB and S, 7 and 3, it seems probable that 7 is original; for while w, through a broken text, 197, can easily develop into w, 3 (cf. n. 231 above), the opposite development would be difficult to account for.

²⁷³ Thus according to the photograph. With WB agree Su₁ and Su₃₊₄; S adds - k e₄ .

²⁷⁴ Thus S also; Su₁: 15; Su₃₊₄: 7. Since 6 is attested in both main branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: S), it must be original. Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ derive through a badly broken text (see n. 272 and passages quoted there). How the scribes arrived at the figures 15 and 7 cannot be determined with certainty.

²⁷⁵⁻²⁷⁵ These lines occur only in WB and S; Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ omit them, which can only mean that their common original had a lacuna here (see p. 51).

WB	S	Su ₁	Su ₄	21	²⁷⁶ u r - ^d u t u ^{276 277}	m u	^{6²⁷⁸}	i - a ₅
WB	S		Su ₄			^{5²⁷⁹} lu gal		
WB P ₄	S		Su ₄		m u - b i	^{30²⁸⁰}		i b - a ₅
WB P ₄	S		Su ₄		u n u g ^{ki}	^{g^{is}t} u k u l	b a - a n - s ^{ig}	
WB P ₄	S		Su ₄	25	n a m - lu gal - b i			
WB P ₄	S		Su ₄		²⁸¹ k i - s u - lu - u b ₄ <- g a r> ²⁸¹	g u - t u ²⁸² -		
					u m ²⁸³ < ^{ki} - s ^è >	b a - t u m		
WB<P ₄ >L ₁			Su ₄		²⁸⁴ k i - s u - lu - u b ₄ <- g a r>	g u - t u -		
					u m ^{ki} ²⁸⁴			
WB<P ₄ >L ₁	G		Su ₄		²⁸⁵ lu gal	m u	n u - t u k ²⁸⁵	

²⁷⁶⁻²⁷⁸ Thus S and Su₃₊₄ also; Su₁ has an otherwise unknown ruler, lu gal - m e - l a m. It seems probable that the common ancestor of Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ served as original for Su₃₊₄ when the lacuna mentioned in n. 275 reached to just above Ur-Utu(k) and for Su₁ somewhat later, when the name of this ruler also had disappeared. The curious lu gal - m e - l a m restored here by the scribe may represent an original lu gal - 'e¹ - n e (= l a m); see p. 51.

²⁷⁷ Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ add d u m u u r - ^{g^{is}}g i g i r ; S agrees with WB. Since the text of WB is represented in both main branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: S), we must consider it original. The addition in the related sources Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ is clearly free invention in continuation of u r - ^{g^{is}}g i g i r d u m u u r - n i g i n , made after the intervening rulers Kudda and Puzur-ili had disappeared.

²⁷⁸ Thus S also; Su₁: 7; Su₃₊₄: 25. Since 6 is attested in both main branches of the tradition (A branch: WB; B branch: S), it must be original. How the variants in Su₁ and Su₃₊₄ originated cannot be determined with certainty.

²⁷⁹ Thus S also. Su₃₊₄ has 3, which is correct for it, inasmuch as the rulers Kudda and Puzur-ili have been lost in this version (see n. 275 above and p. 51). The figure 5 attested by both WB and S must be original.

²⁸⁰ S: 26; P₄ also, which preserves ~~26~~, should obviously be restored as ~~26~~ (26). The figure 26 equals the sum of individual reigns preserved in S, where Ur-niğin(ak) is listed with 3 years instead of 7 as in WB. Since 7, as we have seen above (n. 272), is probably more correct than 3, the total of WB should be preferred. Su₃₊₄ gives 47 years as total, which agrees with its single reigns: 15+7+25=47. As the total is dependent on secondary and badly corrupted individual reigns, it can be ignored.

²⁸¹⁻²⁸¹ P₄: k i - s u - lu - ú b - [] ; S: k i - s u - lu - ú b - g a r ; Su₃₊₄: [m] a - d a . We consider the omission of - g a r in WB accidental, since this ms. uses the correct form of the word in col. viii 1.

²⁸² P₄ and S: - t i - ; Su₃₊₄: - t u - .

²⁸³ S and Su₃₊₄ add ^{ki} - s^è ; P₄ is broken here.

²⁸⁴⁻²⁸⁴ L₁: k i - s u - lu - ú b - g a r g [u - . . .] ; P₄ omits; Su₃₊₄: [m a - d] a g u - t u u m^{ki} .

21 Ur-Utu(k) reigned 6 years.

5 kings

reigned its 30 years.

Uruk was smitten with weapons;

25 its kingship

⟨to⟩ the horde of Gutium was carried.

In the horde of Gutium

A king without name!

²⁸⁵⁻²⁸⁶ Thus probably G also; restore [. . . .] 'n u - t u k'. L₁: lug a l n u - u b - t u k ; Su₃₊₄: [] ▷ - a n - d ē ; P₄ omits. The text of WB, lug a l m u n u - t u k , "a king without name," is clearly a copyist's note that a name has been obliterated by a lacuna in this place. The same statement, only differently worded, is presented by Su₃₊₄: [ū -] ▷ - a n - d ē , which apparently reflects a broken original ū - * b a] - a n - d ē - [a] , "somebody who has disappeared" (cf. n. 178 above, referring to another example of use of this phrase by Su₃₊₄ to indicate an old break).

Completely different in meaning is, however, the text presented by L₁: lug a l n u - u b - t u k , "(the Gutian horde) did not have a king," which states that the Gutians constituted a disorganized horde with no central authority. That this variant is secondary is shown by the fact that it is peculiar to a single text in the B branch of the tradition, whereas the other concept, that a name has been broken away, is found in both the B branch (Su₃₊₄) and the A branch (WB) and so must be older. It is also proved, however, by the text of the section itself. WB names 20 kings of the Gutian dynasty. The summary at the end, however, counts 21 kings both in WB and in L₁. This gives excellent sense if our line, as in WB and Su₃₊₄, is a note that there originally was a name here, making 21 names in all, but is inexplicable if, as in L₁, it is merely a piece of information concerning the organization of the Gutians. The text of L₁, lug a l n u - u b - t u k , is in all probability a development from that of WB. A slightly damaged version, lug a l [m u] n u - t u k , could become lug a l n u - t u k , "had not a king," which it would be natural to refer to "the Gutian horde" and to change into the grammatically more correct form lug a l n u - u b - t u k (collective).

A suggestion may be offered as to what name may originally have stood in this place in the King List or in its source. Among the Nippur material in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Hilprecht found many years ago a copy of a long inscription of a ruler e-e-r-i-du-pi-z-i-ir (var. en-r-i-da-pi-z-i-ir), who styled himself da-núm šár gu-ti-im ū ki-ib-ra-tim ar-bo-im, "the mighty one, king of Gutium and of the four quarters" (Hilprecht, *The Earliest Version of the Babylonian Deluge Story and The Temple Library of Nippur* [Pennsylvania. University. Babylonian Expedition. Series D: Researches and Treatises V 1 (Philadelphia, 1910)] chap. iv; cf. Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 134). This title is—except for the addition of "king of Gutium"—the title of Narām-Sin of Agade and thus presents the Gutian as heir to Narām-Sin's kingdom. Since, as we shall see later (pp. 205-7), the available evidence indicates that the Gutian dynasty is to be reckoned from a conquest which overthrew the reign of just that ruler, Narām-Sin, the Gutian Erridupizir, who flaunts Narām-Sin's titles in his inscription, is indeed very likely to be the anonymous Gutian ruler who defeated him and thereby laid the foundation for Gutian supremacy.

WB P ₄ L ₁	G	Su ₄	29	²⁸⁶ im - t a - a ²⁸⁶	²⁸⁷ l u g a l - à m ²⁸⁷	mu
				²⁸⁸ i - a ₅		
WB P ₄ L ₁	G	Su ₄	30	²⁸⁹ in - ki - š u š ²⁸⁹	mu 6 ²⁹⁰ (var. 7)	i - a ₅
WB L ₁	G			²⁹¹ s à r - l a g a b - l a - g a b ²⁹¹	mu ²⁹² 6	i - a ₅
WB L ₁	G			²⁹³ s u l - m e - e ²⁹³	(var. ia - a r - l a - g a - a š)	mu 6 ²⁹⁴ i - a ₅
WB	G			e - l u - l u - m e - e š	mu ²⁹⁵ 6 ²⁹⁶ (var. 7)	
				i - a ₅		
WB	G			i - n i - m a - b a - k i - e š	mu 5	i - a ₅
WB	G		35	i - g e ₄ - e š ²⁹⁷	mu 6 ²⁹⁸	i - a ₅
WB L ₁				²⁹⁹ i a - a r - l a - g a b ²⁹⁹	mu 15	i - a ₅
WB L ₁			300	i - b a - t e ³⁰⁰	mu 3	i - a ₅
WB L ₁			301	i a - a r - l a ³⁰¹ < - a n - g a b >	mu 3	i - a ₅
WB L ₁			302	k u - r u - u m ³⁰²	mu 1	i - a ₅
WB			40	³⁰³ l b a ³⁰³ - b i l - k i (?) ³⁰⁴ - i n	mu 3	i - a ₅
WB				³⁰⁵ [la-é] - r a - b u - u m ³⁰⁵	mu 2	i - a ₅
WB				i - r a - r u - u m	mu 2	i - a ₅
WB				i b - r a - n u - u m	mu 1	i - a ₅

²⁸⁶⁻²⁸⁶ Thus P₄ also (see photograph, PBS V, Pl. XCI): im - ~~ma~~ = im - t [a] - [a]. L₁'s im - b i - a developed from im - t a - a through a broken text: im - ~~ma~~ ; Su₃₊₄ omits.

²⁸⁷⁻²⁸⁷ Su₃₊₄: [l u g a l] - à m ; P₄ broken; L₁ omits.

²⁸⁸ Thus P₄ also; L₁: 5.

²⁸⁹⁻²⁸⁹ P₄: in - ki - [] ; L₁: in - g i₄ - š u š ; Su₃₊₄: [] l - b a . The concurrent testimony of WB, P₄, and L₁, which represents both main branches of the tradition, must be preferred to that of Su₃₊₄. On the name cf. n. 301 below.

²⁹⁰ L₁: 7. P₄ does not seem to have given the reign of Inkishush; it has . . - d a - [] in the line after the name. The traces in front of - d a show the heads of two vertical wedges through which runs a horizontal line.

²⁹¹⁻²⁹¹ The fact that KIL has the value l a g a b suggests that the following l a - g a b was originally a gloss which got down into the line; cf. the similar cases of Samug (n. 85 above) and Enbi-Eshtar (n. 159 above). The original form of the line in WB's ancestors was therefore probably s à r - l a g a b l a - g a b (cf. p. 207). That the name is Sarlagab is also indicated by L₁, which according to the photograph (PBS XIII, photographic Pl. II) has ~~ma~~ - a r - l a - g a - b a , i.e., z à r - a r - l a - g a - b a (not w a - a r - l a - g a - b a as in Legrain's copy).

²⁹² Thus according to the photograph.

²⁹³⁻²⁹³ L₁: i a - a r - l a - g a - a š .

²⁹⁴ L₁: ~~ma~~ , which can be restored as ~~ma~~ (6).

²⁹⁵ Thus according to the photograph.

²⁹⁶ G: 7. Which is correct?

29 Imta³ became king and reigned 3 years;

30 Inkishush reigned 6 (var. 7) years;
 Sarlagab reigned 6 years;
 Shulme³ (var. Iarlagash) reigned 6 years;

Elulumesh reigned 6 (var. 7) years;

Inimabakesh reigned 5 years;

35 Igeshaush reigned 6 years;
 Iarlagab reigned 15 years;
 Ibate reigned 3 years;
 Iarla⟨ngab⟩ reigned 3 years;
 Kurum reigned 1 year;

40 Habil-kîn(?) reigned 3 years;
 Laerabum(?) reigned 2 years;
 Irarum reigned 2 years;
 Ibranum reigned 1 year;

²⁹⁷ Thus according to the photograph.

²⁹⁸ G: 𒃩, which can be restored as 𒃩 (6).

²⁹⁹⁻³⁰⁰ L₁: [] - g á b .

³⁰⁰⁻³⁰⁰ L₁: [i - b] a - t i .

³⁰¹⁻³⁰¹ L₁: [i a - a] r - 𒂗 a¹ - a n - g a b (see *PBS* XIII, photographic Pl. II), which is probably original. WB's i a - a r - l a may represent a broken predecessor: i a - a r - l a [- a n - g a b]. Dr. T. George Allen calls my attention to the similarity between this name i a - a r - l a - a n - g a b and i a - a r - l a - g a b in l. 36 above, suggesting that these are in reality only variant writings of one name i a r l a ̄ g a b spoken with nasalized ̄. For the existence of a nasalized g in Gutian speaks also the—not quite as close—correspondence between i n - k i - š u š, read perhaps i n - g e₅ - š u š (l. 30), and i - g e₄ - e š - a - u š (l. 35), which may represent one name, i ̄ g e š ̄ o š .

³⁰²⁻³⁰² L₁: [] - b i .

³⁰³ Thus according to the photograph, which shows the heads of the upper two vertical wedges of this sign.

³⁰⁴ Read thus instead of - d i ?

³⁰⁵⁻³⁰⁵ To be identified with the Gutian ruler whose inscription was published by Winckler in *ZA* IV (1889) 406. The first line, containing the name, is damaged: 𒃩 𒃩 𒃩 𒃩 𒃩 𒃩. It was restored by Hilprecht in *BE* I 1 (1893) p. 13 as *La-si(?)-ra(?)-ab(?)*, and this restoration has been generally accepted. Dr. Gelb of the Oriental Institute, however, calls our attention to the facts that the traces which Hilprecht reads as *si(?)* look more like ̄ and that—while a name *Lesirab* is otherwise unknown—a name *La-̄-ra-ab* is attested by tablets of the Agade period from Tell Asmar (As. 31:T. 30 ix 10 and 29 and As. 31:T.1a fragment 4 rev.). We have therefore adopted the reading *Laerab* as more probable than *Lesirab*.

WB		44	ḥ a - a b - l u m	mu	2	ī - a ₅
WB		45	p ú z u r - ḍ s ī n	d u m u	ḥ a - a b - l u m	
WB			m u		7	ī - a ₅
WB			[iā(?)] - a r - l a - g a - a n - d a ^{305a}			m u
				7	ī - a ₅	
WB			[s i] - 'u ₄ ³⁰⁶		m u	7
WB L ₁			[ti-ri- g] a	u ₄	40	ī ³⁰⁷ - a ₅
WB (P ₂) L ₁	Su ₃	50	12 ¹ 1 ³⁰⁸	l u g a l		
WB (P ₂) L ₁	Su ₃		[m u - b i 91] ³⁰⁹	u ₄	40	310 b - a ₅ ³¹⁰

Col. viii

WB	L ₁	Su ₃	J	311 k i - s u - l u - u b ₄ - g a r ³¹¹	g [u - t u ³¹² -	
				u m ^{ki}]		
	L ₁	Su ₃	J	1a <gīstukul b a - a n - sīg> ³¹³		
WB	L ₁	Su ₃	J	n a m - l u g a l - b i	u n u g ^{ki} - š ē	[b a -
				t ú m]		t ú m]
WB			J	u n u ^{ki} - g a	d u t u - h ē - g [á l	l u g a l -
				à m] ³¹⁴		
WB			J	315 m u	7	š u - š i
					7	u ₄
				(emend to m u 7 i t u 6 u ₄ 15	ī - a ₅)	315
WB			J	5		1 [l u g a l]

^{305a} This king Iarlaganda is probably to be identified with iā - a r - l a - g a - a n , king of Gutium, mentioned in *YOS* I, No. 13:1-2. The form there given would seem to represent a shortened form *I a r l a g a n d .

³⁰⁶ *u*₄ = 'u₄ 1 . The reconstruction of the name as [s i] - 'u₄ is suggested by the fact that a Gutian king by the name Si-pum (written si - ȳ - u m) is known (Scheil in *CR*, 1911, pp. 318-37; cf. Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, pp. 134 f.). The short form of the name met with in WB may be due to a break in an ancestor of this ms. which swallowed up the last sign: si - u [- u m] . This break might also be responsible for the short form of the immediately following name, Tiriga instead of Tirigan.

³⁰⁷ Thus according to the photograph.

³⁰⁸ *ī*₂, i.e., *ī*₁. L₁ and the final summary of P₂ also have 21. This figure is correct, since the list originally had a name before Imta₂; see n. 285 above. A certain mū-a-ti-gu-bi - si-in, mentioned as "his king" by a scribe from the city *sa₁₂-rig₅* (SAG-PA-KAB-DU) near Umma (Thureau-Dangin in *RA* IX [1912] 74-76) is usually considered one of the Gutian kings. The name—formed with Muati, a name of Nābū of Borsippa—seems, however, to be compatible with an Akkadian etymology *Muati-qu(b)bīsin* . . . , "Muati (has heard) their wail"; and, since no other indications point to his being a Gutian, it is equally possible that he was merely a local petty king on a par with the kings of Uruk (Uruk IV) etc. in that period.

³⁰⁹ Thus by addition of the single reigns in WB. The higher totals, 124 years and 40 days in L₁ and 125 years and 40 days in P₂ (final summary), are probably due to misreading of the final *ī* (-eš) in the name e - l u - l u - m e - eš or the name i - n i - m a - b a - k i - e š

44 Hablum reigned 2 years;
 45 Puzur-Sin, son of Hablum,
 reigned 7 years;
 Iarlaganda(?) reigned 7 years;

Si'u(m)(?) reigned 7 years;
 Tiriga(n) reigned 40 days.

50 21 kings
 reigned its 91 years and 40 days.

Col. viii

The horde of Gutium

⟨was smitten with weapons;⟩
 its kingship to Uruk was carried.

In Uruk Utu-hegal became king

and reigned years $7 \times 60 + 7$, days . .
 (emend to 7 years, 6 months, 15 days).

5 1 king

as part of the numeral for the reign. Such an error is very easy to make in L_1 and P_2 , where the figures follow directly upon the names (i - n i - m a - b a - k i - ॥ w m u 1 - a₅), but not in WB, where the names are separated from the figures by the word mu (i - n i - m a - b a - k i - ॥ mu w 1 - a₅). Assuming such an error (35 instead of 5 for Inimabakesh) to have happened in L_1 and restoring the missing parts of this text from WB, we do indeed get the total which it now has, 124 years and 40 days ($5 + 7 + 6 + 6 + [6 + 35 + 6 + 15 + 3 + 3 + 1 + 3 + 2 + 2 + 1 + 2 + 7 + 7 + 7]$ years + 40 days = 124 years and 40 days). P_2 , which belongs to the same main group of the tradition as L_1 , may be restored in the same way except that it may have followed G in assigning 7 years rather than 6 to Elulumesh. This would account for its total being one year higher than that of L_1 . The total of Su_{3+4} , 25 years, is likely to be the actual total of the individual reigns preserved in a damaged original.

³¹⁰⁻³¹⁰ L_1 omits.

³¹¹⁻³¹¹ L_1 : k i - s u - l u - ú b - g a r ; Su_{3+4} : m a - d a .

³¹² J and L_1 : - t i - .

³¹³ Erroneously omitted in WB; preserved in L_1 , Su_{3+4} , and J.

³¹⁴ According to the photograph (not Langdon's copy) the space fits this restoration.
 J: [l u g a l] - à m .

³¹⁵⁻³¹⁵ J: m u 7 i t u 6 u₄ [15 1 - a₅], "reigned 7 years, 6 months, and 15 days." The text of WB, m u 7 š u - š i 7 u₄ [], "years $7 \times 60 + 7$, days . . ." is clearly a corrupt form of the text given by J. Note that the original figure for the months, 6, is preserved in the summary.

WB	J	6	³¹⁶ mu - bi 7 šu - ši 6 'u ₄ ' [.. i - a ₅] (emend to mu - bi 7 itu 6 u ₄ 15 i - a ₅) ³¹⁶
WB	Su ₄	J	u n u g ^{ki} ^{gi} štu k u l b a - a n - s i g
WB	Su ₄		n a m - l u g a l - b i u r [f ^{ki} - š ē] b a - t ú m
WB	P ₅	Su ₄	u r f ^{ki} - m a u r - [d n a m m u] ³¹⁷ l u g a ³¹⁸
WB	P ₅	Su ₄	10 mu 18 [i] - a ₅
WB	P ₅	Su ₄	^d ³¹⁹ š u l - g i d u m u ^d ³²⁰ u r - d n a m m u - k e ₄
WB	P ₅	Su ₄	mu 46 ³²¹ (emend to 48) i - a ₅
WB	P ₅	Su ₄	^d ³²² b u r ₇ - ^d s ī n ³²³ d u m u ^d ³²⁴ š u l - g i - k e ₄ ³²⁵
WB	P ₅	Su ₄	mu 9 ³²⁶ i - a ₅
WB	P ₅	Su ₄	15 š u - d s ī n d u m u ^d ³²⁷ b u r ₇ - ^d s ī n ³²⁸
WB	P ₅	Su ₁ Su ₄	mu 9 ³²⁹ i - a ₅
WB	P ₅	Su ₁ Su ₄	J ³³⁰ i - b i - d s ī n d u m u š u - d s ī n - k e ₄
WB	P ₅	Su ₁ Su ₄	J mu 24 ³³¹ i - a ₅
WB	P ₅	Su ₁ Su ₄	J 4 ³³² (emend to 5) l u g a l

³¹⁶⁻³¹⁶ Thus according to the photograph. J: [m u - b i 7] itu 6 u₄ 15 i - a₅¹. The text of WB, mu - bi 7 šu - ši 6 'u₄' [], "its years 7×60+6, days..," is clearly a corrupt form of the text given by J.

³¹⁷ P₅ adds - k e₄.

³¹⁸ P₅ and Su₃₊₄ add - à m . On the omission of - à m in WB see p. 136.

³¹⁹ Su₃₊₄ also has the determinative; P₅ omits it.

³²⁰ P₅ and Su₃₊₄ omit.

³²¹ Su₃₊₄: 48; P₅: 58. The origin of the variants is fairly clear. As will be noted, the figures of Su₃₊₄ and P₅ both show the same number of units, namely eight, while WB has six. Since $\frac{m}{w}$ (6) can easily have developed out of an original $\frac{m}{w}$ (8) by passing through a slightly broken text: $\frac{m}{w}$, it is probable that WB's source had 8 units in its numeral but lost two in the course of transmission. This assumption is strongly supported by the high dynasty total, 108 years, which WB gives. Since the present figures for individual reigns add up to only 106 years, two years less than the total demands, it seems obvious that the total reflects an older, more correct form of the text in which the two units in the reign of Shulgi had not yet been lost. We can therefore assume that WB's original had 48 years for Shulgi, which would make it agree with Su₃₊₄.

Comparing WB and Su₃₊₄ with P₅, we note that P₅ places the sign for "year," m u, directly in front of the figures. Since this sign ends in <-wedges and since the difference between P₅'s $\frac{m}{w}$ (58) and the $\frac{m}{w}$ (48) found in or behind Su₃₊₄ and WB consists in the addition of just such a wedge, it seems obvious that the variant in P₅ is due to the confusion of <-wedges which texts of this type would present: $\frac{m}{w}$ $\frac{m}{w}$. A copyist could easily come to read one of the wedges of m u as part of the numeral and thus get 58 instead of 48.

The original figure of all three versions is thus $\frac{m}{w}$ (48). This agrees with other evidence for the length of the reign of Shulgi, for we know 48 full date formulas for that ruler (see Ugnad in *RLA* II 140-43. Ugnad gives 49 formulas, but we have no indication that the third of his formulas, No. 21, "year when the n a m - r i g - e n u of Shulgi was installed and invested," belongs to Shulgi's reign; it may equally well be a formula from the time of

6 reigned its years $7 \times 60 + 6$, days . . (emend to its 7 years, 6 months, 15 days).
 Uruk was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to Ur was carried.
 In Ur Ur-Nammu(k) (became) king
 10 and reigned 18 years;
 divine Shulgi, son of divine Ur-Nammu(k),
 reigned 46 (emend to 48) years;
 divine Bür-Sin, son of divine Shulgi,
 reigned 9 years;
 15 Shū-Sin, son of divine Bür-Sin,
 reigned 9 years;
 I(b)bi-Sin, son of Shū-Sin,
 reigned 24 years.

4 (emend to 5) kings

I(b)bi-Sin). Cf. also Thureau-Dangin in *RA* VII (1909-10) 184-85, who suggests 48 years as a possibility, and the discussions of the problem by Langdon (*OECT* II 20, n. 1) and Ungnad (*op. cit.* p. 135). See now also G. G. Hackman, *Temple Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma* ("Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies" V [London, 1937]) p. 4, who proposes 48 years for Shulgi on much the same grounds as those we have given above.

³²² P₅ and Su₃₊₄ omit the determinative.

³²³ P₅ adds - n a ; thus apparently Su₃₊₄ also: - n [a].

³²⁴ Su₃₊₄ also has the determinative; P₅ omits it.

³²⁵ Thus P₅ also; Su₃₊₄ probably omits.

³²⁶ Thus P₅ also; Su₃₊₄: 25. The text of WB and P₅ is correct, as shown by existing date lists; see Ungnad in *RLA* II 135 and 143-44 (Nos. 68-76).

³²⁷ P₅ and Su₃₊₄ omit the determinative.

³²⁸ Thus Su₃₊₄ also; P₅ adds - n a - k e₄.

³²⁹ P₅: 7; Su₃₊₄: 16; Su₁'s 𒂗 = 20+x. The figure of WB is proved correct by the date lists; see Ungnad in *RLA* II 135 and 144-45 (Nos. 77-85).

³³⁰ Thus P₅ and Su₃₊₄ also; Su₁ adds the determinative for deity.

³³¹ Thus J also; P₅ and Su₁: 25; Su₃₊₄: 15. In view of the close relationship between Su₁ and Su₃₊₄, it is probable that the 𒂗 (15) of Su₃₊₄ has developed from 𒂗 (25) through a broken text 𒂗 intermediate between Su₁ and Su₃₊₄. How WB got its 24 is uncertain. It may represent a damaged original 25; or, more likely, one of WB's ancestors may have been written before the last year of I(b)bi-Sin and therefore have included only 24 years for this ruler.

³³² Thus, even though 5 kings are listed. Since the easiest way to count the rulers in such a list is to count the numerals, which stand out from the other signs, it is possible that the miscounting was due to the identical figures for Bür-Sin and Shū-Sin. J, P₅, and Su₃₊₄ all have 5; Su₁'s 𒂗 can be restored as 5.

WB	P ₅	Su ₁	Su ₄	J	20	mu - bi	108 ³³³	í b - a ₅
WB	P ₅	Su ₁	Su ₄	J		ur f ^{ki} ³³⁴ - ma ³³⁵ gištukul	ba - an - sìg ³³⁶	
WB	P ₅	Su ₁	Su ₄	J		nam - lugal - bi	ì - si - in ^{ki} - šè	ba - túm
WB	P ₅	Su ₁				ì - si - in ^{ki} - na	337 iš - bi - 338 ir - ra	lugal ³³⁹
WB	P ₅	Su ₁				mu	33 ³⁴⁰	ì - a ₅
WB	P ₅	Su ₁			25	d ³⁴¹ šu - ì - lí - šu	dum u	iš - bi - 342 ir -
						ra - ke ₄		
WB	P ₅	Su ₁				mu	20 ³⁴³ (emend to 10)	ì - a ₅
WB	P ₂	P ₅	Su ₁			344 i - din - dda - gan	dum u	345 su - ì -
						lí - šu ³⁴⁶		
WB	P ₂	P ₅	L ₁	Su ₁		mu	21 ³⁴⁷	[ì - a ₅]
WB	P ₂	P ₅	L ₁	Su ₁		348 iš - me - dda - g [a n	dum u	349 i - din -
						d d a - g a n - k e ³⁵⁰]		
WB	P ₂	P ₅		Su ₁	30	mu	[20 ³⁵¹	ì - a ₅]
WB	P ₂	P ₅		Su ₁		d ³⁵² [i - pí - it - e š ₄ - tár	dum u	353 iš -
						m e - d d a - g a n - k e ₄ ³⁵³		
WB	P ₂	P ₅		Su ₁		mu	[11 ³⁵⁴	ì - a ₅]
WB	P ₂	P ₅		Su ₁		dur - [dninurta ³⁵⁵	mu	28 ³⁵⁶ i] - a ₅
WB	P ₅					abur - d ³⁵⁶ s ₁ [n	dum u	dur - dninurt] a - ke ₄
WB	P ₅				35	mu	[21 ³⁵⁷	ì - a ₅
WB	P ₅					q i - pí - [i t - d] en - lí l		

³³³ This figure is right if the present figure for Shulgi is corrected to 48 (see n. 321 above). P₅ has 117, which agrees with its figures for individual reigns. Su₃₊₄ has 123, one more than the sum of its individual reigns. Su₁ has ~~120~~ (120+x), which should probably be restored to ~~120~~ (123) to correspond to Su₃₊₄.

³³⁴ Thus J, P₅, and Su₁ also; Su₃₊₄ omits (cf. n. 335).

³³⁵ P₅ and Su₁ omit; Su₃₊₄ adds k i.

³³⁶ Su₃₊₄ adds s u h u š [k e l - e n - g i - r a] mu - 'u n l - [s í r], "the foundation of Sumer was torn out."

³³⁷ Thus P₅ also; Su₁ adds the determinative for deity.

³⁸⁸ Thus Su₁ also; P₅ adds the determinative for deity—a fact which is of interest for the dating of that ms. (see p. 7, n. 12). For the divine name IR-RA both a reading Irra (i r - r a) and a writing Era (e - r a) are attested. See Weidner in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* II (1924/25) 17, n. 4; Dossin in *RA* XXI (1924) 183; Deimel, *ŠL*, No. 50.10 and the literature there quoted.

^{338a} The name Ishbi-Irra would seem to represent the Akkadianized form of an Amorite *Iašbi-Irra; cf. the name Iašbi-ila in Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer* (Leipzig, 1926) p. 30.

³⁸⁹ P₆ and Su₁ add - à m.

³⁴⁰ Thus Su₁ also; P₆: 32.

³⁴¹ Su₁ also has the determinative; P₅ omits it.

³⁴² P₅ adds the determinative for deity.

20 reigned its 108 years.
 Ur was smitten with weapons;
 its kingship to Isin was carried.
 In Isin Ishbî-Irra^{338a} (became) king
 and reigned 33 years;

25 divine Shû-ilishu, son of Ishbî-Irra,
 reigned 20 (emend to 10) years;
 I(d)din-Dagân, son of Shû-ilishu,
 reigned 21 years;
 Ishmê-Dagân, son of I(d)din-Dagân,

30 reigned 20 years;
 divine Lipit-Eshtar, son of Ishmê-Dagân,
 reigned 11 years;
 divine Ur-Ninurta(k) reigned 28 years;
 divine Bûr-Sin, son of divine Ur-Ninurta(k),

35 reigned 21 years;
 divine Lipit-Enlil,

³⁴³ P₅: 10; Su₁: 15. As seen by Langdon, *OECT* II 20, n. 9, the figure 20 in WB is probably secondary (dittography of the 4-wedge). That WB derives from a text which had 10 here, as has P₅, is indicated by WB's total, 203 years, which agrees with a reign of 10, not 20, years for Shû-ilishu.

³⁴⁴ Thus P₅ also; Su₁ adds the determinative for deity.

³⁴⁵ Thus P₅ also; P₂ and Su₁ add the determinative for deity.

³⁴⁶ P₅ adds - k e₄.

³⁴⁷ Thus P₂ and P₅ also; Su₁: 25.

³⁴⁸ Thus P₅ also; P₂ and Su₁ add the determinative for deity.

³⁴⁹ Thus P₅; P₂ and Su₁ add the determinative for deity.

³⁵⁰ Thus P₅; Su₁ omits.

³⁵¹ P₂: 20 over erasure; P₅: 20; Su₁: ~~20~~.

³⁵² Thus according to the photograph. P₂ also uses the determinative for deity here; P₅ omits it.

³⁵³⁻³⁵³ Thus P₅ and Su₁; P₂: ^{di}-d i n - ^[d] d a - [g a n], by dittography from preceding line.

³⁵⁴ P₂ and P₅: 11.

³⁵⁵ P₂ adds d u m u ^{di}š k u r - [] m u ū b¹ - [] ū b a l (?) [].

³⁵⁶ P₅: 28.

³⁵⁷ ~~28~~, i.e., ~~29~~; P₅ also has 21.

WB	P ₅	37	dumu	bur- ^d sîn-ke ³⁵⁸	mu	5	i-a ₅
WB	P ₅		dîr-ra-i-mi-ti	mu	8 ³⁵⁹ (var. 7)	i-a ₅ ³⁶⁰	
WB	P ₅		den-lîl-ba-ni		mu	24	i-a ₅
WB	P ₅	40	dza-a-m-bi-ia		mu	3	i-a ₅
WB	P ₅		dî ³⁶¹ -te-er-pî-ša		mu	4	i-a ₅
WB	P ₅		dur-du ₆ -kù-ga		mu	4	i-a ₅
WB	P ₆		dîn-ma-gir		mu	11	i-a ₅
WB			13 ³⁶² (emend to 14)	lugal			
WB		45	mu-bi		203 ³⁶³		i-b-a ₅

šu nu-úr-^dn i n - š u b u r

³⁵⁸ P₅ omits.

³⁵⁹ P₅: 7, probably developed from 8 through a broken text; or P₆'s text may descend through an edition from the 7th year of this ruler.

³⁶⁰ P₅ adds another line: "i'(?) - [d i n] - e š(?) - 't á r'(?) i t u 6 [i n - a₆], "I(d)din-Eshtar(?) reigned 6 months." The identification of this badly damaged name with that of I(d)din-Eshtar, mentioned in the Tammuz hymn *TRS I*, No. 8:208, and perhaps in Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, 1. Reihe (1912) No. 26 vii 17, has been proposed by Carl Frank, *Kultlieder aus dem Ischtar-Tamuz-Kreis* (Leipzig, 1939) pp. 105 ff.

37 son of Bür-Sin, reigned 5 years;
 divine Irra-im(i)t¹ reigned 8 (var. 7) years;
 divine Enlil-ban² reigned 24 years;

40 divine Zambia reigned 3 years;
 divine Itēr-pīsha reigned 4 years;
 divine Ur-Du(l)kuga(k) reigned 4 years;
 divine Sin-magir reigned 11 years.

13 (emend to 14) kings

45 reigned its 203 years.

Belonging to Nûr-Ninshubur.

³⁶¹ Thus according to the photograph.

³⁶² Thus according to the photograph. Actually 14 kings are listed. We can offer no satisfactory explanation of this error.

³⁶³ Thus according to the photograph (as in Langdon's transliteration!). Actually the reigns listed total 213 years. The sum 203 is correct if the figure for Shū-ilishu is emended to 10 as suggested above in n. 343. P₅, written later than WB, gives name and reign of the successor of Sin-magir: d a - 'm i - i q - i - l i - š u d u m u 's i n - m a - g i r m u 23 [i n - a₅], "Damiq-ilishu, son of Sin-magir, reigned 23 years." This king closes the 1st dynasty of Isin. P₅'s total for the dynasty is [16] kings reigning 225 years and 6 months.

IV

COMPOSITION

In the preceding sections we have tried to trace the main lines in that process of tradition which separates the first edition of the King List from the late copies of it which are all we have preserved. It is therefore natural to consider next the problems which center around this first edition, the original of the King List. When and where was it composed? What were its sources, and how were they utilized by the author?

DATE

Most of our manuscripts of the King List were written during the second half of the dynasty of Isin, and the currently accepted view is that the list—or, since some scholars consider the manuscripts separate compilations, the “lists”—was composed at that period.¹ It has just been shown, however, that all of our manuscripts must ultimately derive from a single original, and we have seen that they contain a considerable number of variants due to misreadings and errors in copying. So many misreadings and errors would hardly have developed had not a long period of tradition separated the copies from the original, and it is therefore necessary to reconsider the question of when the King List was composed.

Since the King List does not give any direct information as to its date, we have to rely exclusively upon internal evidence—language, form, fundamental ideas of the work, etc. It will be practical to consider first those characteristics which help to establish a lower limit.

¹ See e.g. Eduard Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie Babyloniens, Assyriens und Ägyptens* (2. Aufl.; Berlin, 1931) p. 38: “Wie weit es freilich den Gelehrten zu Ende des dritten Jahrtausends noch möglich war, den wahren geschichtlichen Zusammenhang einigermassen festzuhalten oder wiederherzustellen, bleibt fraglich genug”; E. Unger in *OLZ* XXXVII (1934) 363: “Man stützt sich . . . mehr auf die sekundären Königslisten; diese sind aber erst in semitisch-altbabylonischer Zeit, um 2100 v. Chr., abgefasst und verhalten sich stark tendenziös”; O. E. Ravn, *Babylonske og assyriske Kongers historiske Indskrifter* (København, 1934) p. 27: “Sumererne selv har nedlagt deres opfattelse af vor periode i dynastiske lister, der kompileredes omkring 2000 f. Kr.” Only Sidney Smith, *EHA*, p. 29, holds a different view. He assumes correctly that our present versions depend upon a single original which must be of earlier date. He does not, however, suggest any definite period for this original.

THE COLLECTIVE *i - b - LAL*

In summing up the various dynasties five of our manuscripts make use of the form *i - b - LAL* (*i b - a₅*) for 3d pl. preterit active, transitive. Only two, P₅ and S, have instead the form *i - n - LAL - e š* (*i n - a k - e š*) ; and a single one, K, uses *i - n - LAL - m e - e š* (*i n - a₅ - m e - e š*). Examining the occurrence of these forms in texts outside the King List, we find that they belong to different stages in the history of the Sumerian language. The form generally used in older texts is *i - b - LAL*,² whereas *i - n - LAL - e š*, which is rare in the older texts, becomes the standard form during the 3d dynasty of Ur and keeps this position down to the Hammurabi period. Then it is in its turn supplanted by *i - n - LAL - m e - e š*.³

The point during the 3d dynasty of Ur at which *i - b - LAL* disappears and *i - n - LAL - e š* takes its place can be fixed fairly exactly to the reign of Shū-Sin, as will be seen from the list on page 130 of datable occurrences of the two forms during the periods of the 3d dynasty of Ur and of Isin-Larsa.⁴

As is shown by the list, *i - b - LAL* disappears during the reign of Shū-Sin. Why, then, do we find this form in our manuscripts of the King List written as late as the end of the Isin period, when *i - n - LAL - e š* was the standard form? The answer cannot be doubtful: The original of the King List must have been composed *before* the reign of Shū-Sin, when *i - b - LAL* was still current. From the original this form had then been mechanically handed down from copy to copy until it reached our manuscripts written in the Isin period. Only in a few cases have copyists taken offense at the antiquated form and modernized the text to agree with Isin-Larsa standards. The result is the form *i - n - LAL - e š* which we find in P₅ and S. A still later redaction produced the correction to *i - n - LAL - m e - e š* in K.

From the use of the form *i - b - LAL* we can thus conclude that the original King List was composed earlier than the reign of Shū-Sin of Ur.

² Cf. Poebel in *AJS* L (1933/34) 156, n. 7.

³ GSG § 456.

⁴ The list is based on the following publications: Giustino Boson, *Tavolette cuneiformi sumere, degli archivi di Drehem e di Djoha, dell'ultima dinastia di Ur* (Milano, 1936); Nikolaus Schneider, *Die Drehem- und Djoha-Urkunden der Strassburger Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek* (An. Or. I [Roma, 1931]) and *Die Drehem- und Djohatekte im Kloster Montserrat* (Barcelona) (An. Or. VII [Roma, 1932]); Edward Chiera, *Legal and Administrative Documents from Nippur* (PBS VIII 1 [1914]) and *Old Babylonian Contracts* (PBS VIII 2 [1922]); Alfred Pohl, *Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden der III. Dynastie von Ur* (TMH n.F. I-II [1937]); F. Pélagaud, "sá-tilla, textes juridiques de la seconde dynastie d'Ur," *Babylonica* III (1910) 81-132; H. de Genouillac, "Textes juridiques de l'époque d'Ur," *RA* VIII (1911) 1-32; F. Thureau-Dangin, "Notes assyriologiques" XXI, *RA* X (1913) 93-97. It should give a representative picture of the usage during the period in question.

Shulg	year 42	Captains of four ships “have wrecked” (the ships)	ବ - ୟ ଉ	<i>An. Or. I, No. 53:4</i>
	year 43	Captains of two ships “have wrecked” (the ships)	ଯ - ୟ ଉ	<i>An. Or. I, No. 58:3</i>
Būr-Sin I	year 1	Officers of the <i>ensi</i> (k) “have received”	ଶ - ୟ - ବ - ଏ - ତ - ି	<i>An. Or. VII, No. 125:22</i>
	year 9	Two persons “swore to it”	ନ - ମ - ଏ - ରି - ମ - ବ - ି	<i>ITT II, Pl. 17, No. 920:12-15</i>
Shū-Sin	year 3	Workmen “have brought”	ମ - ତ - ତୁ - ମ	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 311:29</i>
	year 4	1 ú Al-še- [e] - n e “have received”	ଶ - ୟ - ବ - ଏ - ବ - ତ - ି	<i>Boson, op. cit. No. 309 obv. 3</i>
		Nine persons “that they have not received”	ଶ - ୟ - ଲ - ବ - ଏ - ବ - ତ - ି	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 271 ii 23</i>
		Two persons “that they have given”	ବ - ଏ - ନ - ସ - ମ - ଏ - ଶ - ା	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 271 iii 7</i>
		Two persons “because they said”	ମ - ଏ - ନ - ନ - ଏ - ଶ - ା - ଶ - ା	<i>Babylonica III, Pl. VIII, No. xvii rev. 1-2</i>
		Two persons “because they said”	ମ - ଏ - ନ - ନ - ଏ - ଶ - ା - ଶ - ା	<i>ITT III, No. 5279 iv 7</i>
		The heirs of Dudu “swore”	ମ - ଏ - ନ - ନ - ଏ - ଶ - ା - ଶ - ା	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 253:11</i>
	year 5	Two persons “have given him”	ମ - ଏ - ନ - ନ - ଏ - ଶ - ା - ଶ - ା	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 253:11</i>
		Two persons “have received”	ମ - ଏ - ନ - ନ - ଏ - ଶ - ା - ଶ - ା	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 253:13</i>
	year 8	Two persons “have received”	ଶ - ୟ - ବ - ଏ - ତ - ି - ଏ - ଶ	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 24:6</i>
I(b)bi-Sin	year 1	Two persons “have received”	ଶ - ୟ - ବ - ଏ - ତ - ି - ଏ - ଶ	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 34:6</i>
	year 2	Three persons “have received”	ଶ - ୟ - ବ - ଏ - ତ - ି - ଏ - ଶ	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 35:7</i>
		Three persons “have received”	ଶ - ୟ - ବ - ଏ - ତ - ି - ଏ - ଶ	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 36:6</i>
		Two persons “have received”	ଶ - ୟ - ବ - ଏ - ତ - ି - ଏ - ଶ	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 110:6</i>
		Three persons “have received”	ଶ - ୟ - ବ - ଏ - ତ - ି - ଏ - ଶ	<i>Pohl, op. cit. No. 109:7</i>
Būr-Sin II		Two persons “bought”	ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ଶ	<i>PBS VIII, No. 6:17</i>
		Two parties “swore”	ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ଶ	<i>PBS VIII, No. 6:21</i>
Irra-im(i)tii		Two parties “swore”	ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ଶ	<i>PBS VIII, No. 20:20</i>
		Two parties “who bought”	ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ଶ	<i>PBS VIII, No. 103:12</i>
Enlil-banī		Two persons “swore”	ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ଶ	<i>PBS VIII, No. 8 rev. 7</i>
		Two persons “received”	ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ଶ	<i>PBS VIII, No. 107:9</i>
Damiq-ilišhu		Two parties “swore”	ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ନ - ଶ - ଏ - ଶ	<i>PBS VIII, No. 16:17 and 26</i>

THE DISREGARD OF SUBJECT ELEMENT - n - AND "CAUSATIVE" - n -^{4a}

The conclusion that the King List was composed before Shū-Sin's reign is corroborated by another feature of the list, the treatment of the subject element - n - and the "causative" - n - in the verbs. Three manuscripts—P₅, S, and K—give the verb "he reigned" as i n - a₅. The subject element of the 3d singular, - n -, is here expressed in writing. All other manuscripts,⁵ however, ignore this - n - and write i - a₅, "he reigned." A similar difference can be noted in the case of the "causative" - n -, which appears in b a - a n - sìg, "it was smitten" (WB), b a - a n - kúr, "it was changed" (P₅), b a - a n - túm, "it was carried" (P₅), and elsewhere, whereas it is ignored in the corresponding forms b a - sìg, "it was smitten" (L₁, Su₁, Su₃₊₄, and J), b a - kúr, "it was changed" (S), and b a - túm, "it was carried" (WB, P₂, L₁, S, Su₁, Su₂, Su₃₊₄, and J).

Examining the treatment of subject element - n - and "causative" - n - in inscriptions other than the King List, we find again that the difference corresponds to a change in usage which took place during the period of the 3d dynasty of Ur. The crucial point here is the reign of Bür-Sin I. Before this ruler the "causative" - n - does not appear, and the subject element - n - is limited to a single case, namely the form i n - d ù - a, "who built."^{5a} With Bür-Sin I, however, both the subject element - n - and the "causative" - n - suddenly appear in a number of verbs, and writings expressing these elements soon become the established norm. The sudden change is well illustrated by the accompanying table of relevant forms appearing in the historical inscriptions of the 3d dynasty of Ur.

The forms in which the subject element - n - and the "causative" - n - are not expressed belong to the time before Bür-Sin I. When we find such forms in our manuscripts of the King List as late as the end of the Isin dynasty, where they do not belong, we must therefore conclude that they have been inherited from an original composed when such forms were normal, that is, before the reign of Bür-Sin.

^{4a} We keep—for practical reasons—the term "causative - n -" introduced by Poebel in GSG §§ 521 ff. That it actually is an accusative element has been suggested by Poebel, *ibid.* § 526. On its identity with the subject element (subject-accusative element) see Rudolf Scholtz, *Die Struktur der Sumerischen engeren Verbalpräfixe* (Inaugural-Dissertation; Breslau, 1931) p. 44.

⁵ On a few isolated cases of i n - a₅ in L₁ see pp. 54 f.

^{5a} Note also the isolated instance m a - a n - d u₁₁, "he commanded me" (Gudea Cyl. A ii 15). This form does not show the subject element elsewhere in Gudea's inscriptions. From a still earlier time there is the exceptional u₄ a n - d ù KA a n - gá1 (Stele of Vul-tures xvii 5 f.; var. u₄ a - d ù u₄ - a - gá1, *ibid.* rev. v 28 f.) discussed by Poebel in ZA n.F. II (1925) 3 f.

m u - b a - a l	"he dug"	SAK, p. 188 i 13; <i>UETI</i> , No. 44b i 4, 8, 12, and 16	SAK, pp. 186 a 4 and g 5, 188 i i 9; <i>UETI</i> , Nos. 33:4 and 50:10
m u - n a - b a - a l	"he dug for him"	<i>UETI</i> , Nos. 42:9, 45:10, 46:11	i n - d ù - a "who built"
m u - n a - d ù	"he built for him"	SAK, pp. 186 b ii 2 and 4, c 12, d ii 4, and e 8 and 188 h 10, k 10, l 8, and m rev. 1; <i>UETI</i> I, Nos. 35:8, 36:10, 38:8, 39:7, 40:7, 41a 8, 46:8, 47:9	i n - d ù - a "who built"
p a b m u - n a - ñ	"he executed splendidly for him"	<i>UETI</i> I, No. 50:11	i n - d ù - a "who built"
m u - n a - g i ₄	"he brought back for him"	SAK, p. 186 c 13	i n - d ù - a "who built"
m u - n i - g i ₄	"he brought back into it"	<i>UETI</i> I, No. 50:14	i n - d ù - a "who built"
m u - n a - g u b k a b i - g i - in	"he planted" "he confirmed"	SAK, p. 188 i 18	i n - d ù - a "who built"
a - m u - n a - r u	"he presented to him"	<i>UETI</i> I, Nos. 32:8, 34:8, 48:12, 49:9, 52:10	i n - d ù - a "who built"
m u - n a - t a b	"he added for him"	SAK, p. 186 b ii 4	i n - d ù - a "who built"

66 That PA in this phrase is to be read as p. a. is indicated by the writing *as ul - p - e* for usual *as ul - PA - e* in a seal inscription published by Scheil in *RA* XIII (1916) 12, No. 5, and Pl. II, No. 15. The form *as ul p - e* has naturally developed from *as ul p - ae* through assimilation of *a* to the following *e*.

SHULGI

m u - n a - d ù m "he constructed
for him" *SAK*, p. 194 *x* 12
m u - d ù "he built" *SAK*, p. 190 *b* 7
m u - d ù - a "who built" *SAK*, p. 190 *f* rev. 3
m u - n a - d ù "he built for
him" *SAK*, p. 192 *n* rev. 4

m u - n a - g i ₄ "he brought back
for him" *SAK*, pp. 190 *c* 8 and
192 *n* rev. 2
m u - n a - g i - i n "he confirmed for
him" *SAK*, p. 194 *t* 5;
UET I, No. 287:8
a - m u - n a - r u "he presented to
him" *SAK*, pp. 192 *q* 6,
194 *y* ii 3, and 196
a' ii 6 and *j'* ii 3

BÜR-SÍN I

m u - n a - d ù "he built for
him" *SAK*, pp. 198 *c* 13 m u - n a - a n - d ù "he built for
him" *SAK*, p. 200 *g* 17

and *e* 22, and 28
and 200 *h* 9 and *i*
rev. 7; UET I,
Nos. 67:8 and
71:26

m i m u - n a -
n i - d u n "he prepared for
him" *UET* I, No. 71:29 p a m u - n a - a n - ð "he executed
splendidly
for him"

a - m u - n a - r u "he presented to
him" *UET* I, No. 67:10 k i . . . m u - n a -
m u - n a - n i - t u "he brought into
it for him" *SAK*, p. 198 *e* 24 a n - t û m m u - n u - n a - n i -
i n - t u "he founded
for him" "he brought in-
to it for him" 10

SHU-SÍN

m u - d ù "he built"
m u - d ù - a "when" he *UET* I, No. 72:10
built" *YOS* I, No. 20:23;
CT XXXII, No. 103354:23

SHU-SIn—Continued

m u - n a - d ù	"he built for him"	SAK, p. 202 <i>d</i> 17; m u - n a - a - n - d ù	"he built for him"	SAK, p. 202 <i>c</i> 16; OIP XLIII, bldg. inser. No. 1:18
		UET I, Nos. 80: 17 and 81:14; CT XXXII, Nos. 103353 (= PBS XV, No. 43):13 and 10334:30; YOS I, No. 20:30; HRETA, No. 11: 12	"(when) he turned (some- thing) back" "the envisaged" in - p å	YOS I, No. 20:26; CT XXXII, No. 103354:26 SAK, pp. 200 <i>b</i> 7 and <i>c</i> 5 and 202 d 9; UET I, Nos. 72:5, 80:9, 81:5; CT XXXII, No. 103354:15;
				YOS I, No. 20: 15; HRETA, No. 11:5
				I(B)BT-SIn
in - n a - b a	"he assigned to him"	UET I, Nos. 88:10, m i - n i - n - d i b - 96:9, 97:9; PBS XIII, No. 5 ii 4	"who had seized"	UET I, No. 289: 16 and 45
a - m u - n a - r u	"he presented to him"	UET I, No. 289:29 and 64	b a - š i - i n - d u b f - i n - g i	UET I, No. 290:5 UET I, No. 289: 14 and 43
			m u - u n - g a m	UET I, No. 289: 15 and 44
			b a - a n - t u - r a - k e 4 - e š	UET I, No. 289: 47
				"because he had brought him (into greatness)"

The evidence from the subject element -n- and the "causative" -n- thus corroborates and amplifies that from the collective i-b-LAL. The latter indicated that the original was older than Shū-Sin; now we see that the original must be older than Shū-Sin's father and predecessor, Bür-Sin.

TRACES OF EARLY REDACTIONS

The dating thus far obtained—earlier than Bür-Sin and Shū-Sin—is confirmed and our *terminus ante quem* moves still higher up when we consider the evidence furnished by traces of earlier redactions which can be found in the manuscripts. As we have mentioned before, the concluding sections in our sources tend to show a certain unevenness of style. The originals which the scribes used would naturally as a rule be somewhat older than the scribes' own time, so that it was necessary for them to add a certain amount of material to their copies to bring the record up to date. In these additions which the scribes themselves had to compose and which they could not just copy sign by sign from the original their own stylistic peculiarities are likely to show. By paying attention to the sudden appearance of such peculiarities one is often able to identify an addition and thereby to determine where an earlier version ended. A single example will serve to illustrate this.

In P₅ the subject element -e is used regularly whenever a name is followed by a patronymic: N. d u m u P.-k e₄ (i.e., P.- (a) k - e). Toward the very end of the list, however, from [l i - p i - i t - d e n - l i l] d u [m u b] u r - ^ds i n (!) (iv 15) to the last king, d a - m [i] - i q - i - l i - š u d u m u ^ds i n - m a - g i r (!) (iv 23), this -k e₄ is omitted (see p. 32, n. 65). The explanation of the change is clear. A scribe who did not himself use this -k e₄ has followed an original where it was regularly employed; copying sign by sign he mechanically took over its -k e₄, but when his original stopped and he had to write an additional section to bring the list up to date, he was no longer directly influenced by the original and his own stylistic habits naturally asserted themselves. Therefore we do not find -k e₄ used in this section. Now if we can identify the section from Lipit-Enlil on as an addition to bring the list up to date, the older version from which the scribe copied must have ended with Bür-Sin of Isin, and the natural inference is that it was written under that ruler.

Observations similar to those here made in P₅ can be made in WB also. But while P₅ tells us only what we already know, that copies of the King List were being made at the time of Bür-Sin II of Isin, so that the original must be still older, WB adds important new information. We have discussed earlier an interesting change in the formula for introducing new dynasties observable

in WB (p. 67). The crucial points of this discussion may be repeated and slightly elaborated here. In the main part of this text new dynasties are introduced by the formula $A^k(-a) N. l u g a l - à m$, "In A N. was (or 'became') king." The last two dynasties, however, the 3d dynasty of Ur and the dynasty of Isin, are introduced differently: $A^k(-a) N. l u g a l$, "In A N. (was) king." The identifying verb $- à m$, "was," is here omitted, and the nouns to be identified, N. and *lugal*, are merely placed side by side. To assume that the author of the list, who has carefully written *lugal* - $à m$ in dynasty after dynasty, should suddenly and for no reason have changed his literary style only two dynasties before the end is obviously absurd. The change in style must indicate a different hand, and we can therefore conclude that a later copyist has added this section to bring his copy up to date.

Further proof of this conclusion is to be found in the relation of the section in question to the first part of WB, the antediluvian section. We have seen above (pp. 55-64) that a variety of indications proves that the antediluvian section is secondary. Now the scribe who inserted that section had certain stylistic peculiarities which crop up every time he is not merely copying but adds on his own. One such peculiarity is his preference for constructions such as $A^k(-a) n a m - l u g a l l - a$ (written *n a m - lugal - a*), "In A (was) the kingship," and $A^k(-a) N. l u g a l$, "In A N. (was) king," in which the two nouns to be identified are merely placed side by side and the identifying verb $- à m$, "was," is omitted. Comparing our change in formula at the end of the list, we see that it consists of the introduction of this very peculiarity. The man who added the antediluvian section is also responsible for the last part of the list; his literary peculiarities appear in both places.

That the closing section of WB was added later can thus be considered certain. Not only do we find here a change of style which shows that a different hand is at work, but the character of the change itself links the section as closely as possible with a known interpolation, the antediluvian section. But if we can thus detach the section from the beginning of the 3d dynasty of Ur as a later addition, we have left an original version which came to an end with Utu-hegal of Uruk and which can therefore be assigned to the reign of that ruler.

The evidence which we have thus far considered has carried the date at which the King List can have been composed a considerable way back from the time to which our present copies belong, the end of the Isin period. The language used in the list shows that the author must have written before the middle of the 3d dynasty of Ur, before Shū-Sin and Būr-Sin. Now we have

found evidence of a version from the reign of Utu-hegal, who preceded that dynasty. Is this at last the original version, or must we seek still farther back? The answer depends upon whether other features in the King List indicate this period as the probable time of origin or make a still earlier date likely.

THE TERM *g̃ist u k u l . . . s̃ig*

We have already earlier mentioned that the formula *A^{ki} g̃ist u k u l b a - (a n -) s̃ig . . .*, "the city A was smitten with weapons . . .," dominates both of the principal branches of the tradition. This means that it dates back to a point in the tradition at which these two branches had not yet separated. We have, of course, no way of proving that this point is identical with the original; but, inasmuch as our versions are fairly numerous and come from widely separated parts of Babylonia, it seems reasonable to assume that a point where this tradition was still but a single stream cannot have been far from the source. Serious corrections of language and style are accordingly not likely to have been introduced.

Examining the history of the term *g̃ist u k u l . . . s̃ig* in Sumerian literature, we find that the older texts, from E-Anna(k)-tum to Sargon of Agade, do not use this term at all. The idea "to defeat" is at this time almost exclusively expressed by *g̃ÍN-KÁR . . . s̃i*.⁶ With Sargon of Agade the first traces of our phrase begin to appear; *lú A^{ki} - a (k) - d a g̃ist u k u l e - d a - s̃ig*, "he fought with the man of the city A," is a common expression in Sargon's inscriptions.⁷ It will be noted that *g̃ist u k u l . . . s̃ig* does not yet serve to express the idea "to defeat," which is still *g̃ÍN-KÁR . . . s̃i*;⁸ but, construed with *- d a*, *g̃ist u k u l . . . s̃ig* is a term for "to fight," "to come to blows with."⁹

The meaning "to defeat" which *g̃ist u k u l . . . s̃ig* has in the King List occurs fairly late in other inscriptions. It appears first in the inscriptions of Gudea: *g̃ist u k u l uru an - ša - a n e l a m^{ki} m u - s̃ig*, "he smote with weapons (i.e., defeated) the cities of Anshan and Elam."¹⁰ After that, in the period of Isin and Larsa, it is frequent in date formulas from Larsa, for example Gungunum, year 19: *k i - s u - l u - ú b - g a r m à -*

⁶ E-Anna(k)-tum: *g̃ÍN-KÁR b i - s̃i* (e.g. *SAK*, pp. 18 vii 3 and ix 2; 20 iii 14, 20, 24; 22 vi 20, vii 2, iii 13 and 19; and 24 iv 13 and 15); En-temena: *g̃ÍN-KÁR i - n i - s̃i* (*SAK*, p. 38 iii 14); En-e(n)tar-zid: *g̃ÍN-KÁR b i - s̃i* (*RA VI* [1904-7] 139, AO 4238 obv. iii 4).

⁷ E.g. Poebel, *PBS IV* 1, pp. 173-74 i 16-19, i 36-40, and *passim*.

⁸ E.g. *PBS V*, No. 34 obv. i 20-21, i 41-42, and *passim*: *g̃ÍN-KÁR e - n i - s̃i*.

⁹ This difference in usage was first pointed out by Thureau-Dangin, *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, p. 18.

¹⁰ Gudea Statue B (*SAK*, p. 70) vi 64.

al-gi₄-a ^{gi}stukul ba-an-si[g] (UET I, No. 265 obv. 13-14; RLA II 154 b and 156, No. 112); Abi-sarē(?): mu ki-su-lu-u b₄-gar i-si-iŋki-na ^{gi}stukul ba-a [n-si^g] (Thureau-Dangin, *La chronologie ...*, p. 53, l. 42; RLA II 151, l. 42, and 157, No. 129); Sumu-El: mu k[i-s] u-lu-u b₄-gar ka-zal-luki ^{gi}stukul ba-a-n-[si^g] (RLA II 151, l. 49, and 157, No. 135; cf. UET I, No. 249); Warad-Sin, year 2: ū <ki!-> su-lu-ú b-gar [....-t]i-ba-al 'ša^l la r s a m^{ki} ^{gi}stukul ba-si^g (UET I, No. 266 i 14; RLA II 154 a and 160, No. 192).

Since ^{gi}stukul si^g in the meaning "to defeat" thus makes its first appearance under Gudea and since the King List uses it in this sense, the term suggests that the King List is to be dated to that ruler or later. Now we have seen that the lower limit for the date of the King List can be placed in the reign of Utu-hegāl. Gudea, who lived at the end of the Gutian period, seems to belong to the generation of, or immediately before, Utu-hegāl.^{10a} We arrive therefore at approximately the time of this ruler as the most likely period for the composition of the King List.

BASIC IDEAS IN THE KING LIST

The evidence from the term ^{gi}stukul si^g, pointing to the time of Utu-hegāl as that in which the King List originated, does not stand alone. Comparison of the King List with the great inscription of Utu-hegāl in which he relates his victory over Gutium¹¹ shows striking and significant similarities

^{10a} Reasons for placing Gudea "during the latter years and after the fall of the Gutian dynasty" have been summarized by Gadd in *The Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 32. To them may be added the following facts: (1) The similarity between the language of Gudea's inscriptions and that of Ur-Nammu(k)'s and Shulgi's is extremely close. Note e.g. such a special feature as the omission of the subject element -n- everywhere except in one form of the verb dū, "to build" (i-n-dū-a, "who built"), where it regularly occurs. (2) Gudea's wide-reaching trade expeditions would hardly have been possible under the Gutians. As we know from the Utu-hegāl inscription (RA IX [1912] 111-20 and X [1913] 98-100), Gutium had closed the vital trade route passing from the Mediterranean across Assyria down through Akkad and Sumer to the Persian Gulf: "Both banks of the Tigris he (i.e., Tirigan) had seized, southward in Sumer he had barred the paths, northward he had barred the routes, on the highways of the land long grass he had let grow." This route was reopened by Utu-hegāl's victory over Gutium, and it can be only to that event that Gudea is referring when he says (Statue B v 21-27): "When he (i.e., Gudea) built the temple of Ningirsu(k) did Ningirsu(k), his beloved king, open up the road from the upper to the lower sea."

¹¹ RA IX 111-20 and X 98-100. The authenticity of the Utu-hegāl inscription, which is known only from later copies, has recently been questioned by Güterbock (ZA n.F. VIII [1934] 14), who is of the opinion that the disposition and style of the text preclude its being a historical inscription: "Der Verfasser des Textes hat zwar den offiziellen Titel Utu-hegals gekannt, der Text ist aber nach Aufbau und Stil offenbar ein literarisches Werk, keine Königsinschrift; von einer solchen ist nicht einmal die äussere Form übernommen." This view we

in ideology and language. The author of the King List worked, as has often been mentioned, on the theory that Babylonia was and always had been a single kingdom. Within the country the capital could change from one city to another, but there was never more than one king at a time. The ruler of a city or a province could become king only by defeating the existing capital

cannot share. The Utu-hegal inscription gives a remarkably detailed account of a campaign, but its disposition (Aufbau) is in no way different from the disposition of accounts of campaigns found in other royal inscriptions. We may compare e.g. the account which En-temena gives (*SAK*, pp. 36-38 n 1 13-ii 26) of the wars between Lagash and Umma in the time of Ush:

En-temena Inscription

Misdeeds of enemy (i 13-21)

Divine orders to fight him (i 22-27)

Victorious battle (i 28-31)

Results of victory: true boundary re-established; tribute to be paid by enemy (i 32-ii 26)

Utu-hegal Inscription

Misdeeds of enemy (i 1-14)

Divine orders to fight him (i 15-23)

Preparations for decisive battle (ii 16-iv 3):

- a) Utu-hegal seeks support of his city god, Inanna(k).
- b) Itinerary of march to battlefield: departure from Uruk; purpose of campaign made known to troops in E-Ishkur(ak); Gutian messengers taken captive in Bar-Ittababka(k); arrival in Muru; Utu-hegal seeks support of Ishkur of Muru.

Victorious battle (iv 4-8)

Results of victory: capture of Tirigan and re-establishing of autonomy of Sumer (iv 9 to end)

As will be seen, the disposition of both narratives is practically the same: (1) misdeeds of enemy, (2) divine orders to fight, (3) victorious battle, (4) results of victory. That Utu-hegal, who had to lead his troops far afield to come to grips with the enemy, tells also of the events which took place during that part of the campaign, whereas the En-temena account goes directly to the decisive battle, is only natural; for the battle in the En-temena account took place near Lagash itself, and little could have happened on the way to the battlefield.

Nor does the style of the Utu-hegal inscription differ in any way from that of other historical inscriptions. It is very vivid and uses direct speech a great deal; but a vigorous characterization of the enemy, Gutium, as "a viper of the hills, enemy of the gods, who had carried the kingship of Sumer off to the mountains, who had filled Sumer with evil," etc. is not much different from En-temena's description of Il of Umma, "Il, e n s i (k) of Umma, a robber of fields and lands, always speaking evil," etc., which appears in the inscription just mentioned (*SAK*, p. 40 iv 19-23).

There is thus neither in disposition nor in style any basis for separating the Utu-hegal inscription from other royal inscriptions. Its authenticity is indicated also by its language; for, although the scribal habits of later copyists show in the use of the subject element - n - and the "causative" - n -, such features as the use of the old collective i - b - LAL (e.g. iii 7-8: u r u - n i l u - d i l i - g i m e g i r - r a - n i b a - a b - ú s, "his city as one man followed behind him") and the use of the phrase cín-KÁR s i to express the defeat of the Gutian forces are rarely found in inscriptions of the 3d dynasty of Ur, which followed Utu-hegal, or in still later periods. Lastly we may call attention to the highly peculiar and irregular ruling of tablet AO 6018 (*RA* IX 112 f.) which contains our copy. Cases containing one line of writing alternate with cases which have two, three, and even twenty-two lines. This irregularity is not suggested by the content of the text and is indeed explicable only if it represents the *original* ruling of a text written between and around the figures on

and carrying (b a - t ú m) the "kingship" to his own residence. Now the same view meets us in the Utu-hegal inscription. Like the King List, Utu-hegal knows only one "kingship," that which has been "carried" (b a - t ú m) to the mountains by Gutium. It is only by defeating Gutium that Utu-hegal can bring it back into the hands of Sumer. Even the characteristic phraseology, n a m - l u g a l construed with t ú m, "to carry," is common to both texts, a point especially significant, as this construction occurs nowhere else.

To the evidence of the phrase *zis̃t u k u l . . . s̃ig*, the ideology of the King List, and the wording of that ideology is added the fact that the period of Utu-hegal in itself constitutes the logical period for such a work as the King List to have been conceived and carried out. After long subjection under foreign barbarians Utu-hegal had in the decisive battle near Muru crushed the Gutian forces completely, restored the old independence, and "brought back the kingship of Sumer into its own hands."¹² This new-won freedom must have powerfully stimulated Sumerian national feeling and must have awakened interest in Sumer's glorious past, in the history of that "kingship" which had now come back again. It would thus naturally inspire the production of such a work as the King List, which is an effort to trace and present just that history.

CONCLUSIONS

We have thus seen first of all that the language of the King List shows that it cannot have been written later than the middle of the 3d dynasty of Ur, while traces of earlier versions move this limit back to the reign of Utu-hegal, to whom the earliest traceable version can be dated. Against a still earlier date, before Utu-hegal, speaks the use of the expression *zis̃t u k u l . . . s̃ig*, which appears in the King List as a term for "to defeat" but is not known to us in this meaning before Gudea, who belongs to the generation of, or immediately before, Utu-hegal. The same conclusion is indicated by a consideration of the ideas on "kingship" underlying the King List. These ideas are the very same which we meet in Utu-hegal's own inscription and they are there expressed in the same characteristic phraseology as in the King List, a

a relief, where the division into cases and columns would necessarily be irregular. That the Utu-hegal inscription originally was written on a relief is already indicated by the closing lines of col. iv, which obviously have reference to an accompanying pictorial representation of a type similar to the relief of Anu-banini (G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* II [Paris, 1931] 764, Fig. 541); cf. also a seal impression of Ilushu-ilia of Eshnunna(k) (*OIP* XLIII, Fig. 100).

¹² *RA* IX 113 iv 36.

phraseology met with nowhere else. Finally, we have seen that the time of Utu-hegal, to which all our evidence points, indeed provides the best imaginable background politically and in ideology for such a work as the King List to be conceived; for pride in new independence and in the "kingship" which had been brought back must have furnished a mighty impulse to set forth the history of this "kingship," that is, to compose our King List. There can thus be no serious doubt that the composition of the King List should be dated to the reign of Utu-hegal.

PLACE

While a number of indications in the King List point to when it was written, very little can be said about where it originated. It is hardly possible to do more than make a plausible guess.

Since it is obviously easiest to get hold of sources for the history and older rulers of a city in that city itself, we can perhaps conclude that the city in which the author of the King List lived must have been one of the three which are dealt with in greatest detail in his work, namely Kish, Uruk, and Ur. The second of these, Uruk, was the city of Utu-hegal; and, since the inspiration for the King List is most probably to be sought in the revival of Sumerian national pride under this ruler, it seems most natural to look for the origin of the list where this feeling must have been strongest, in the capital itself from which the war of independence started. If we must guess, Uruk seems the most likely place of the three.

SOURCES

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SOURCES

An inquiry into the problem of what sources the author of the King List can have used for his work must start from an examination of that work itself. By defining the types of material represented and by comparing these with Sumero-Akkadian literature as a whole, we should be able to determine which genres within that literature contain such material and can therefore have supplied it to our author.

The material found in the King List can in general be described as of a historical character. It divides readily into two distinctive types: (a) information concerning names of kings and the number of years each of them reigned and (b) "notes" added to the names of certain kings giving details concerning themselves and their exploits. We may consider first the material found in the "notes."

SOURCES OF THE "NOTES"

The "notes" appearing in the King List are:¹³

a) e-ta-na si pa lú an-šè ba-e₁₁-dè lú kur-kur mu-un-gi-na lugal-àm (ii 16-19)
 "Etana, a shepherd, the one who to heaven ascended, the one who consolidated all lands, became king."

b) e-n-m-e-en-bára-ge-si lú ma-da elam^{ki}-ma si^{ši}tu kul-bi
 íb-ta-an-gúr lugal-àm (ii 35-38)
 "En-me(n)-barage-si, the one who carried away as spoil the weapons of the land of Elam, became king."

c) mes-ki-ág-ga-še-er dumu ^du tu en-àm lugal-àm mu 324
 i-a₅ mes-ki-ág-ga-še-er ab-ba ba-an-tu ^hur-sag-šè
 ba-e₁₁ (iii 1-6)
 "Mes-kiāg-gasher, son of Utu, became high priest and king and reigned 324 years. Mes-kiāg-gasher went into the sea and came out (from it) to the mountains."

d) e-n-m-e-kár dumu mes-ki-ág-ga-še-er lugal unu^{ki}-ga
 lú unug^{ki} mu-un-dù-a (var.: mu-un-dà-dù-a) lugal-àm (iii 7-10)
 "En-me(r)-kar, son of Mes-kiāg-gasher, king of Uruk, the one who built Uruk (var.: 'the one under whom Uruk was built'), became king."

e) ^dlug al-bàn-da si pa (iii 12)
 "The divine Lugal-banda, a shepherd."

f) ^du mu-zí šU-PEŠ ur u^{ki}-ni k u₆-a^{ki} (iii 14-15)
 "The divine Dumu-zi(d), a—his city (was) KuPa(ra)."

g) ^dgil gam es (^dGIŠ-BIL-GA-MES) ab-ba-ni líl-lá en kul-ab-ba-ke₄
 (iii 17-19)
 "The divine Gilgames—his father (was) a *killû*-demon—a high priest of Kullab."

h) [MES]?(?)-HÉ si mu ug (iii 31)
 "MES(?)-HÉ, a smith."

i) m á-ga l-ga l-'^la¹ [m á-la h] (iv 24)
 "Magalgalla, a skipper."

j) k ù-^db a-b a₆ mu₁₀lú-kur un-n a mu₁₀ su h u š ki š^{ki} mu-un-gi-na
 lugal-àm (v 36-39)
 "Ku(g)-Baba, a barmaid, the one who consolidated the foundation of Kish, became 'king.'"

k) n a-a n-ni-ia z a d i m (vi 19)
 "Nannia, a stonecutter."

¹³ For details concerning text and translation see chap. iii.

l) Šar-ru-ki-in . . . ba-ni nu-giri₁₂ qa-šu-dus ur-dza-ba₄-ba₄
 lugala-ga-dè^{ki} lú a-ga-dè^{ki} mu-un-dù-a (var.: mu-un-dà-dù-a) lugal-à-m (vi 31-36)

"Sargon—his . . . was a date-grower—cupbearer of Ur-Zababa(k), king of Agade, the one who built Agade (var.: 'the one under whom Agade was built'), became king."

A glance at these "notes" will show that they correspond closely with one another in form. Two examples will be sufficient:

d) En-me(r)-kar dumu Mes-kiag-gasher

lugal Unuk-a (k) lu Unuk mu-n-du-a

l) Šarru(m)-kîn . . . lugal Agade(-k) lu Agade mu-n-du-a

and

g) Gilgames abb-anî lilla en Kulabb-a-ke

l) Šarru(m)-kîn . . . b-anî nugiri(b) lugal Agade(-k)

The correspondence is so pronounced that we can consider it certain that the "notes" owe their form to the same hand. This hand, further, must have been that of the author, for they have—with one exception—all been carefully worked into the general framework of the list.¹⁴

In content also the "notes" show close similarity. The information given in them is of uniform character and can be classified without difficulty:

A. Information concerning origin of ruler

1. Parentage: Gilgames (g), Sargon (l)

2. Native city: Dumu-zi(d) (f)

3. Profession: Etana (a), Lugal-banda (e), Dumu-zi(d) (f), Gilgames (g), Mes(?)-gé (h), Magalgalla (i), Ku(g)-Baba (j), Nannia (k), Sargon (l)

B. Information concerning achievements of ruler

1. Political and military: Etana (a), En-me(n)-barage-si (b), Ku(g)-Baba (j)

2. Founding of capital: En-me(r)-kar (d), Sargon (l)

3. Spectacular adventures: Etana (a), Mes-kiag-gasher (c).

The nature of this material is clear; it is historical information. Comparing it with the different genres of Sumero-Akkadian literature to see where we

¹⁴ The "notes" are as a general rule worked into the formula for introducing new dynasties, A^{ki}(-a) N. lugal-à-m, as a relative sentence with lú inserted after N. The exception mentioned is the "note" to Mes-kiag-gasher, which is added loosely after the lines which deal with this ruler. On analogy from the other "notes" we should expect to find

é-a-n-a-ka mes-ki-ág-ga-še-er dumu dutu lú ab-ba ba-a-n-tu hur-sag-šè ba-en en-à-m lugal-à-m mu 324 i-a₅.

In all probability, therefore, this "note" is secondary, inserted by some early copyist of the list. This insertion must have happened before the A branch and the B branch of the tradition separated, for the "note" appears in both (in WB and in P₂).

should seek its sources, we can therefore at once dismiss all genres which rarely or never contain historical information, such as "private letters," "contracts," "administrative documents," and "religious texts"; and as the historical information which our material gives is of a very special type we can limit the field even more. Royal inscriptions have at all times been written for the purpose of glorifying the king, and they never contain facts which could detract even slightly from his dignity. Nor do state papers, treaties with other rulers, correspondence with officials, etc. ever refer to such facts. It is therefore clear that the author of the King List cannot have got his information concerning the lowly birth and original menial occupation of certain rulers from such sources.¹⁵ Furthermore, the legendary character of many statements in his "notes," for example that Etana ascended to heaven and that Gilgames was son of a demon, is definitely against a derivation from royal inscriptions or from the documents in official archives. Since practically every "note" contains information of one of the two types just mentioned, we can with certainty conclude that the sources used for this part of the King List were neither royal inscriptions nor state papers, even though these genres carry historical material.

The objections which can be raised against a derivation from royal inscriptions and from material in official archives hold good for another historical genre also, namely date lists. From somewhat before the Agade period to the end of the 1st dynasty of Babylon the years in Babylonia were each named from some important event of political or religious nature. In such formulas, however, and in the lists in which they were collected, one would seek as vainly as in the royal inscriptions for information that a king had started his career as a shepherd or that his father was a demon. In the periods earlier than the Agade dynasty and during part of that dynasty as well, other systems of dating were in use, and we shall presently see how far it is possible to deduce the existence and probable content of date lists based on them. These lists, however, must likewise have been compiled for purely practical purposes, and information of mythical or anecdotal nature is not likely to have occurred in them.

The eliminations which can thus be made in the "historical" genres of Sumero-Akkadian literature leave only a single group of texts, the "epic-historical" genre, as a possibility. Examining the material contained in texts of this genre we do indeed find information of just the type for which we have been looking. We may mention some examples. The information in the "notes" concerning lowly birth and original menial occupation of some

¹⁵ This argument against derivation from royal inscriptions was first propounded by Sidney Smith, *EHA*, p. 29.

rulers can be paralleled from among the legends by the so-called "Birth Legend of Sargon,"¹⁶ which tells how this ruler was found by a date-grower and raised to become a date-grower himself, and from the stories of the chronicles by that of Enlil-bani of Isin, who likewise was a date-grower before he became king.¹⁷ The city from which Dumu-zi(d) hailed is mentioned in "note" f. Such information is also given in the "Birth Legend," which mentions Sargon's native city, Azupiranu.¹⁸ The chronicles which we have abound in information concerning such political and military achievements as those mentioned in "notes" a, b, and h. The *Šar tamhari* epic¹⁹ and the epic text dealing with Gilgames' war on Kish²⁰ also have such material. Lastly we may mention the journey through the darkness and across the waters of death in the Gilgames epic as a parallel to the spectacular adventures of "notes" a and c.

That the epic-historical genre contains the same kind of material as the "notes" of the King List cannot be doubted. In many cases the correspondence even goes beyond similarity in kind, and we find the actual material of the "notes" themselves. Thus the information in the Etana epic that Etana was carried up to heaven on the back of an eagle is obviously behind the statement in the "note" to Etana: "the one who to heaven ascended"; and the "note" to Sargon, "his . . . was a date-grower," is merely a brief reference to the narrative in the "Birth Legend" of how Sargon was picked up from the river by the date-grower Aqqi. It therefore seems obvious that we should look for the source of the "notes" among such texts.

But is that possible? The genre in which we are interested is at present only represented by fairly late specimens. The earliest copy of an epic yet found dates from the Isin-Larsa period, and such is the case with the legends also. The "Birth Legend" is even preserved in a copy as late as Assyrian times, and from Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian times date all our versions of the chronicles. The King List, on the other hand, must, if our earlier deductions

¹⁶ *CT* XIII (1901) Pl. 42; L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings* II 87-96.

¹⁷ King, *op. cit.* pp. 12 and 117.

¹⁸ *CT* XIII, Pl. 42:3. Another Sargon legend, AO 7673 (H. de Genouillac, *TRS* II, No. 73), also mentioned Sargon's city (obv. 10').

¹⁹ See Weidner, *Der Zug Sargons von Akkad nach Kleinasiens* ("Boghazkōi-Studien" Heft 6 [Leipzig, 1922]); Albright, "The Epic of the King of Battle," *JSOR* VII (1923) 1-20. A synopsis of the contents with valuable notes and further literature was given by Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII (1934) 86-91.

²⁰ *PBS* X 2, No. 5; *SEM*, No. 29; *SRT*, No. 38; Fish in John Rylands Library (Manchester), *Bulletin* XIX (1935) 362-72. The text was edited by Witzel in *Orientalia* n.s. V (1936) 331-46.

are correct, have been composed as early as the time of Utu-hegal. We would therefore have to assume that our genre—although known in late copies only—actually is of the same age as, or still older than, the King List.

In view of the extreme conservatism of Sumero-Akkadian literature such an assumption is indeed very probable. It becomes practically certain when we look at the material of the genre itself. As is commonly known, stories and anecdotes about prominent historical persons originate while these persons and their contributions to history are still fresh in memory and occupy people's thoughts. So it is with our material. People cannot suddenly have begun to tell stories and anecdotes about Etana, Lugal-banda, Gilgames, Ku(g)-Baba, and Sargon when these personages had long ago been forgotten by all but a few learned scribes; these stories must first have been told when the leading characters were still familiar to the listeners and held their interest.²¹

The material of our genre must therefore be old; and when we consider that narratives of mythological content were committed to writing as early as pre-Sargonic times²² and that a period of considerable literary activity and developed literary ability must have immediately preceded Utu-hegal, under whom the King List was composed, because only such a period could have produced the famous cylinders of Gudea, there is indeed no reason whatever to doubt that written versions of epics and legends existed at the time of our author. Nor can we exclude the possibility that some stories and anecdotes had already then been collected and arranged chronologically, just as such material is later found combined in the Chronicle Weidner;²³ for the writing of the King List itself is testimony to the fact that this period had an interest in the collecting and systematizing of historical material. We must therefore reckon with the existence of at least three varieties of the epic-historical genre—"epics," "legends," and "chronicles"—when our author wrote, and we can accordingly assume that he derived the material for his "notes" from them.

In exactly what form he found this material cannot be determined with certainty. He may have been a man well read in such texts and have written

²¹ The author plans to publish an article on the Lugal-banda epic, with detailed discussion of this point.

²² E.g. the very important pre-Sargonic mythological text published by G. A. Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions* (New Haven, Conn., 1918) No. 1.

²³ Published by Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 47 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Weidner, its discoverer, for a transliteration and translation which enabled me to use this text before its publication. The redaction which we possess must have been made in circles which had close connection with E-sag-ila and Babylon, for all the anecdotes point a moral, namely how dangerous it is to neglect that temple (*ibid.* pp. 15 f.). It is of course unlikely that the precursors of this text, with which we reckon above, served as vehicles for such a tendency.

his "notes" from memory; or he may have known only a single such source, an early collection of anecdotes such as we have just described, and have got all his information out of that. This question is, however, of only minor importance and may well be left open.

SOURCES OF THE MATERIAL WHICH CONSTITUTES THE MAIN BODY OF THE LIST

Having thus found that the "notes" are most likely derived from texts of the epic-historical genre, we may turn to the material which constitutes the main body of the list, the names and lengths of reign of the various kings. Looking as we did with the "notes" through the various genres of Sumero-Akkadian literature, we find that we can this time discard from the very beginning all but a single genre, the date lists, for in none of the others do we find that most important feature, the lengths of the reigns.²⁴ This feature, furthermore, the editor of the King List must necessarily have got from his source, for the figures are so obviously based on tradition that they could not possibly have been invented.²⁵ Before we can accept the obvious conclusion that the author of the King List took his material from date lists we must, however, pause for a moment to consider that the oldest date lists yet known do not go back farther than to the time of the 3d dynasty of Ur, while the material contained in the King List covers a span of time reaching far beyond the dynasty of Agade into pre-Sargonic periods. Is it possible that date lists for these periods can have existed? If so, how should we then imagine their form and content? Can they have met the requirements for a source for the King List? These questions make it necessary to examine the Sumerian systems of dating in older times.

The well known later dating system according to which each year was named from some important event of a political or religious nature presupposes in itself the existence of lists in which the "year names" were arranged

²⁴ Sidney Smith (*EHA*, p. 29) suggested official records of omens kept in the temples as a possible source, but the "historical" omens which we possess never give information concerning length of reign of the king in question or his relation to other kings. Many of the "historical" data found in the omen literature can, moreover, be shown to be secondary and to be derived from chronicles (see Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 16 f.). Such a source for the King List is therefore not probable. Meyer (*Die ältere Chronologie . . .*, p. 37) assumes that historical inscriptions formed part of the sources for the King List—a view shared by other scholars (e.g. Güterbock, *op. cit.* pp. 6 f.); but these also could never give information concerning the order of the rulers and the lengths of their reigns. See also p. 156, n. 46.

²⁵ We are considering the figures as a whole. That certain types of figures, e.g. the excessive reigns given to some of the early rulers, reigns which always come to round numbers, are fictitious is obvious.

chronologically, for by themselves the individual "names" give little indication of where the years in question belong. Date lists based on this system must thus have existed as long as the system itself. Since the name of the ruler belongs to the full form of every "year name," and since in any case the accession of a new ruler was always important enough to provide the "name" of the corresponding year, lists based on this system contain all the material necessary to find out order, names, and lengths of reign of the various rulers in the period covered by them and can thus have supplied the author of the King List with the necessary material. Unfortunately, however, this system of dating cannot be traced very far back in time. It does not seem to have come into general use until the time of the Agade dynasty, and the earliest examples of "year names" are from the time of En-shakush-Anna(k),²⁶ who seems to have lived a generation or two before Sargon. It thus covers only a small part of the period dealt with in the King List.

The system here mentioned, however, is not the only one known to the Sumerians. Along with it in the period around the beginning of the Agade dynasty runs a different system which does not use notable events as its base but dates by reference to the various *ensi*(k)'s or other similar high dignitaries who followed each other in office. And this other system can be shown to be of very great age indeed. As far back in time as in the texts from Fara there appear—as Thureau-Dangin was the first to point out—datings by reference to the names of some high officials, probably local rulers. These datings take the form *bala N.*, "reign of N.," and examples of them have been collected by Thureau-Dangin²⁷ and by Deimel.²⁸

From approximately the same time as the Fara texts, if not earlier, come

²⁶ R. Pohl, *Vorsargonische und Sargonische Wirtschaftstexte* (*TMH* V [Leipzig, 1935]) No. 158, has a date of this type from the reign of En-shakush-Anna(k). Cf. Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XXXIII (1936) 62.

²⁷ *SAK*, p. 224.

²⁸ *Die Inschriften von Fara* I (*WVDOG* XL [Leipzig, 1922]) 3. Deimel's objections to considering the *bala N.* phrases as datings are of no value. That these phrases appear only on contracts of sale is very natural, for there it was clearly more important to have a date than on ordinary administrative documents which were meant to serve for only a short time. A parallel observation can be made in the documents from the Isin-Larsa period, where contracts are generally carefully dated while administrative documents are quite often left undated. Deimel's own explanation of *bala N.*, that it represents "die Quit-tung, welche man doch auf einer derartigen Urkunde auch erwartet," cannot be right. The name which appears in the *bala N.* formula is different from that of any party to the transaction, and the similarity between *bala N.* and *X Y-ra/d a d u b - b i e - d a - b a l g ú - n a e - n i - g a r* in the Uru-ka-gina texts upon which that explanation is based is purely superficial. The latter must mean "X turned its (the transaction's) tablet over to Y and put it on his account" and has nothing to do with *bala N.*

two dedication inscriptions of Me-silim, king of Kish, which we may quote in full:

me-silim lug al kiši é-dù ^dnin-gír-su ^dnin-gír-su mu-túm
lug al-šag-engur ensi lag ašu²⁹

"Me-silim, king of Kish, builder of the temple of Ningirsu(k), brought this to Ningirsu(k). Lugal-shag-engur (was) ensi(k) of Lagash."

me-silim lug al kiši é-šar ga-mu-gi é ⁿeensi ad a b a³⁰

"(I) Me-silim, king of Kish, verily restored E-shar. E (was) ensi(k) of Adab."

Here too we find dating by reference to the reign of a local official, for the brief mentions of the men who then held office as ensi(k)'s in Lagash and Adab, unconnected with everything else in the inscriptions, could hardly have another purpose. Exactly similar to these datings in the Me-silim inscriptions, but later and a little more explicit, are datings found in inscriptions of En-temena and Lugal-anda:

u₄-ba e n t e m e n a ensi lag ašu^{ki}-kam e n - e - t a r - z i sangu
^dnin-gír-su-k a - k a m³¹

"At that time En-temena was ensi(k) of Lagash and En-e(n)tar-zi(d) was sangu-priest of Ningirsu(k)."

u₄-ba d u - d u sangu n i n - gír - s u - k a - k a m³²

"At that time Dudu was sangu-priest of Ningirsu(k)."

u₄-ba u r - é - M ù š - k e₄ d i - b i i - k u₅ lug al - a n - d a ensi - k a m³³

"At that time did Ur-E-Mùš(k) judge their case, and Lugal-anda was ensi(k)."

From these examples it is evident that in pre-Sargonic times, from Me-silim and the Fara texts to Lugal-anda, documents could be dated simply by reference to the ensi(k) or to some other high dignitary who at that time held office.³⁴ There are, however, traces of a more developed system also,

²⁹ SAK, p. 160.

³⁰ D. D. Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab* (OIP XIV [1930]) No. 5. Our translation of g a - m u - g i reckons with influence from Akkadian, where the corresponding *lu utîr* can be either a precative or an emphatic form. Cf. however Poebel, GSG §§ 640 and 640a.

³¹ RTC, No. 16; cf. SAK, p. 224.

³² Déc., p. xlvi, No. 5:21-22 (cf. SAK, p. 34 b), and p. xlviii, No. 7 viii 8-9 (cf. SAK, p. 36 k).

³³ RTC, No. 28; cf. SAK, p. 224, No. 2 b.

³⁴ This rough dating method persisted until after the Agade period. Cf. e.g. H. F. Lutz, *Sumerian Temple Records of the Late Ur Dynasty* ("University of California Publications in Semitic Philology" IX 2 [Berkeley, Calif., 1928]) pp. 204-5, No. 83 (a text of the Agade period) iii 39-46: u₄-ba *um-mi-mi* 'q a - š u - d u₈ *l-nu-mi* *l-n*(EN)-*bis-iq-4ha-ni-iš isak-ki iš-nun^{ki}*, "At that time Ummimi was cupbearer, in the days of Inpiq-Hanish, *ishakku* of Eshnunna(k)" (the name Inpiq-Hanish seems to mean "he heeded Hani," *inpiq* being *l*₁ of

namely dating by the *years* of the *e n s i (k)*'s. The evidence for this more developed form of the system is furnished chiefly by the archives of Entemena and his successors in Lagash, in which a number of tablets have at the end a figure of special type which indicates the year in the *e n s i (k)*'s reign from which the tablet in question dates.³⁵ Still more exact are datings on other pre-Sargonic tablets which at the end refer to a year and a month, for example 4 *m u i t u* 4, "fourth year, fourth month," or to year, month, and day: 5 *m u 10-LAL-1 i t u 23 u₄*.³⁶ These dates also must have reference to the reign of the *e n s i (k)* or to a similar fixed period.

We see thus that one could date on this system rather roughly by referring merely to the name of the man who was then *e n s i (k)* but also, at least in later times, quite accurately by quoting the year or even year, month, and day of a given reign. Now it is obvious that even the rougher of these datings, that by the name of the *e n s i (k)* only, presupposes lists in which one could look up the time when a given *e n s i (k)* held office. Otherwise a dat-

nuppuqu; on the value *in* of *EN* see Gelb in *AJSI* LIII [1936/37] 41; Clay, *YOS* I, No. 13:1-2: *u₄-ba i à-a r-1 a-g a-a n l u g a l g u-t-i-u m-k a m*, "At that time Iar-lagan was king of Gutium"; Scheil in *CR*, 1911, p. 319, II. 14-15: *u₄-b a s i-ù-u m l u g a l g u-t-i-u m-k a m*, "At that time Sirum was king of Gutium"; *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (Leipzig, 1909) p. 152: *i-nu-mi za-r i-k u-u m išak*, "When Zarikum was *išakku*."

³⁵ On this method of dating see Allotte de la Fuÿe in *RA* VI (1904-7) 106 f., who was the first to realize the true nature of the marks in question. His explanation has been accepted by practically all scholars. Landsberger's objection (*OLZ* XXXIV [1931] 118, n. 1) that the figures we find are so low that it seems unlikely that they are dates does not carry much weight, for from synchronisms contained in the tablets themselves we know that the reigns of the rulers concerned *must* have been very short (note, e.g., that *En-e(n)tar-zi(d)* occurs as priest already under En-temena [*SAK*, p. 224, No. 2 a] and that *Uru-ka-gina* appears as an official under Lugal-anda [*Smith, EHA*, p. 39]. Note also that a Dudu, presumably the same man, appears as *s a n g u* under En-temena, Bar-namtarra [wife of Lugal-anda], and *Uru-ka-gina* [see Christian in *AOF* VIII (1932/33) 207; cf. C. F. Jean, *La religion sumérienne* (Paris, 1931) p. 201]). It should also be mentioned that for Entemena, who is likely to have had a long reign, we have a date as high as the nineteenth year. Compare, finally, Deimel's statement in his *Šumerische Tempelwirtschaft zur Zeit Urugina und seiner Vorgänger* (*An. Or.* II [1931]) p. 72: "Das sorgfältige Studium des gesamten Tempelpersonals, wie es uns in den nach obiger Regel chronologisch nach Jahr und Monat geordneten Listen in seinem Bestande und in seiner zeitlichen Entwicklung vorliegt, hat es mir bis zur Evidenz erwiesen, dass die von A. de la Fuÿe[!] zuerst aufgestellte Erklärung der am Schlusse der Tafel angebrachten senkrechten Keilchen, die auf ein wagerechtes aufgereiht werden, unumstößlich sicher ist."

³⁶ Dates of this type were first noted by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* VIII (1911) 154. The tablets concerned seem to come from Umma. Other tablets with such dates were published by T. Fish, *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1932) p. xi, Nos. 2-17. It is not always easy to decide whether the tablets in question belong to the first half of the Agade period or to the time immediately before that period.

ing by his name would of course be altogether without value. There must therefore have been lists which gave the names of the *e n s i (k)*'s in chronological order and the span of time each of them had reigned. These lists, furthermore, must have been different for each city, for the local character of the system is apparent in the datings which we have. The names of the officials in the Fara dates plainly show that we are dealing with people from Shuruppak itself.³⁷ The Me-silim inscription from Lagash is dated by reference to the *e n s i (k)* of Lagash; that from Adab is dated by reference to the *e n s i (k)* of Adab. Finally, the Lagash tablets from the archives of En-temena and his successors are all dated from the reigns of *e n s i (k)*'s of Lagash itself, irrespective of what overlords Lagash acknowledged at the time.

We can thus answer our original question and answer it in the affirmative: It is probable that date lists existed in pre-Sargonic times even as far back as Me-silim and the Fara texts. These lists must have been local lists, different for each city, and they must have enumerated the local *e n s i (k)*'s—in some cases perhaps other officials also—with the number of years each *e n s i (k)* reigned. In other words, they contained exactly what is required in the sources of the King List.

We have thus, as with the "notes" of the King List, been able to isolate a single literary genre as the only one which contains the right kind of material and have seen that suitable texts of this genre must have existed and can have been accessible to the author of the King List when he wrote his work. With the "notes" we could get no further and had to leave the argument at that. Here, however, where our material is more extensive, it is possible to approach the problem from a different angle and thus obtain a check on the result.

If, as our evidence has thus far seemed to suggest, the King List is a compilation from a number of separate local date lists, the chances are that traces of such original entities would still remain within the present whole. If we are mistaken, however, and the source is not a collection of separate lists, such traces should not appear. But they do. Looking through the list with this problem in mind, we are struck first by the fact that the 1st dynasty of Uruk, which now appears well within the list, begins with a ruler who is said to be son of the sun-god Utu. This beginning is of absolute character. The Uruk kings traced their lineage back to the sun-god, and originally there cannot have been anything beyond that. We must therefore conclude that this tradition was originally separate and that its present place in the list after the 1st

³⁷ E.g. *m a š - ḫ s ù d* and *᳚ s ù d - KA - z i - d a*, composed with the name of the city god of Shuruppak, *᳚ s ù d*.

dynasty of Kish is secondary and is due to the fact that the editor has compiled originally separate traditions.

A similar observation can be made in the 1st dynasty of Kish. Here Etana occurs in the middle of the dynasty. From the Etana epic, however, we know a tradition according to which Etana was not only the first king of Kish but the first king of all.³⁸ Now we find in the King List clear traces that two separate units have been joined at just this point. Thus it should be noted that the kings preceding Etana all have Akkadian names and are further unified by the fact that many of their names are those of animals, while Etana begins a series of rulers with names of different type. Further, Etana is introduced by the formula *E t a n a l u g a l - à m*, the formula characteristic of the first king in a dynasty. It is therefore clear that the author knew that Etana introduced something new; the "animal-kings" and the "Etana-kings" form two separate units. It is obvious that the author of the Etana epic can have known only the second of these, the one beginning with Etana, for according to him there were no kings before that ruler. The second unit must therefore have existed as a separate entity, and we may accordingly conclude that the other unit, the "animal-kings," was added by the author of the King List in front of an originally independent tradition which began with Etana.

We have thus found evidence of at least two originally independent traditions which have been embodied in the text of the King List. The most convincing proof, however, that the list represents a conglomerate of several separate traditions is furnished by the figures given for the reigns. It has often been pointed out that the reigns of the kings form a valuable criterion by which to judge the degree of historicity to be ascribed to various sections of the King List.³⁹ Where the lengths of the reigns do not exceed what is humanly possible we may assume that the author still had reliable historical tradition to go by; where the kings have legendary reigns of several hundred years each, however, we must be beyond those periods of which the Sumerians preserved precise historical memories. Since the King List reaches back from historical to legendary periods and since the criterion just mentioned gives us a means

³⁸ See especially the Old Babylonian version (A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* IV [New Haven, Conn., 1923] Pl. 2 i 1-14), which clearly states at the beginning of the epic that the gods had not yet appointed a king (l. 6: *šar-ra-am la iš-ku-nu ka-lu ni-ši e-bi-a-tim*, "A king they had not appointed for all the . . . people) and that the insignia of kingship still rested in heaven before An (ll. 11-12: *ha-at-šu-um me-a-nu-um ku-ub-šum u ši-bi-ir-ru ku-ud-mi-iš a-ni-im ina ša-ma-i ša-ak-nu*).

³⁹ Cf. e.g. Smith, *EHA*, pp. 35 f., and, still clearer, Ravn in an article in the Copenhagen newspaper *København*, Dec. 31, 1924.

to distinguish between historical and legendary reigns, we should, if the King List actually did constitute a single homogeneous tradition, be able to ascertain fairly exactly at what point or zone the transition from historical to legendary takes place.⁴⁰ Looking through the list, however, we find that such a point or zone does not seem to exist at all. Historical and legendary dynasties are mixed. A dynasty will begin with legendary reigns, grow historical, and be followed by another historical dynasty. After that, however, will come a third dynasty which is again purely legendary. Such obvious inconsistency can mean only one thing: the King List is not a single tradition but has been compiled from several independent ones. And if we dissolve the present list, singling out the material in the way which seems most natural, namely according to locality, we shall indeed see that all inconsistencies disappear. Instead of one blurred picture we get several perfectly sharp ones:

KISH

1st dynasty	23 kings	legendary reigns
2d dynasty	8 kings	legendary reigns
3d dynasty	1 king	legendary reign

Transition from legendary to historical

4th dynasty	7 kings	historical reigns
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URUK

1st dynasty	first 5 kings	legendary reigns
	Transition from legendary to historical	

1st dynasty	last 7 kings	historical reigns
2d dynasty	1+x kings	probably historical reigns
3d dynasty	1 king	historical reign
4th dynasty	5 kings	historical reigns

UR

Transition from legendary to historical

1st dynasty	4 kings	historical reigns
2d dynasty	4 kings	historical reigns

As will be noted, each of these traditions shows a clear and definite point at which the transition from legendary to historical reigns takes place, just as we must expect from homogeneous traditions. The inconsistencies of the King List taken as a whole thus become clear. The author has interpolated these original and homogeneous traditions one into another; and, since the Kish tradition becomes historical very late, the combined list shows that inconsist-

⁴⁰ It should perhaps be expressly stated that the division historical-legendary applies to the reigns only. A name can obviously be historical, even if later on a "legendary" reign has been associated with it. See also p. 166.

ent and uneven distribution of historical and mythical dynasties on which we have commented.

We have thus found perfect agreement between our two lines of inquiry. That the King List is based on independent local lists of rulers—the conclusion which we reached by comparing its material with that of other genres and by a consideration of what is known of the oldest Sumerian methods of dating—is wholly confirmed by the examination of this work itself, which shows traces of the beginnings of at least two separate traditions within the present list and which exhibits inconsistencies in the distribution of legendary and historical reigns which are explicable only if it is a compilation of separate local traditions.

Our conclusion is therefore imperative: The author of the King List used as sources a collection of local date lists from a number of Babylonian cities.

INDIVIDUAL SOURCES

We have seen above (pp. 142–47) that the general character of the sources for the “notes” of the King List could be determined. Their material derives from documents of the epic-historical genre. Within this group, however, derivation from one or more chronicles, from individual epics, or from legends seemed equally possible; and it is accordingly clear that efforts to reconstruct the individual documents from which the “notes” were taken could have no chance of success. We must therefore turn to the other part of our material, that which constitutes the main body of the list.

In discussing the illogical distribution of historical and legendary reigns in the King List we have already shown in what way the original sources now united in the King List can be singled out. Rearranging the dynasties according to location, that is, the Kish dynasties together, the Uruk dynasties together, etc., we found that the inconsistencies exhibited by the list as a whole disappeared and we got groups which conform to what should be expected from homogeneous traditions. That this feature, the location of the dynasties, must indeed be a reliable guide could also have been concluded from our general knowledge of the character of the sources. As we have seen, the sources must have been pre-Sargonic date lists, and these were local lists, each dealing with the rulers of a single city only.

By rearranging the dynasties along these lines we obtain a number of groups each of which contains all the material on a given city which is found in the King List. In these groups we may—if no other evidence points to still finer divisions—see the original sources used by the author. One reservation should, however, be made. The groups which we have singled out can naturally repre-

sent the corresponding sources only to the extent to which the material of the sources was actually embodied in the King List. Until we know the extent to which the author used his sources we must reckon with the possibility that our groups are incomplete and that there are lacunas of unknown length between their dynasties.

The groups singled out are of two kinds, larger groups made up of several dynasties and smaller groups which have only one dynasty. We may consider the larger ones first. In this category there are three: (a) the Kish group, consisting of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th dynasties of Kish, (b) the Uruk group, consisting of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th dynasties of Uruk, and (c) the Ur group, which has only two dynasties, the 1st and 2d dynasties of Ur. Only one of these calls for special comment, namely the Kish group. Here, as we have already mentioned (p. 152), the 1st dynasty does not seem to be of a piece; it looks as though a series of Akkadian rulers many of whom have animal names has been added in front of an originally separate tradition which began with Etana. Since we cannot assume that the same city had two widely different dynastic traditions, we must consider only one of the two the genuine Kish tradition. The choice between them is not difficult. The close connection of the Etana tradition with Kish is evident not only from the separate testimony of the Etana epic, where Etana occurs as king of Kish, but also from the fact that one of the kings of his dynasty has a name composed with that of the city itself, Melam-Kishi(k).

If, however, the Etana tradition is the genuine Kish tradition, we must ask how the author could come to assign the other list to Kish and to make it precede the genuine tradition. A possible explanation suggests itself when we consider the importance which attached to the title "king of Kish" in ancient Sumer. That title was so highly prized that a ruler of another city would proudly adopt it if he was mighty enough to have the actual ruler of Kish acknowledge him as overlord. Thus for example Mes-Anne-pada called himself "king of Kish" although his capital was Ur in the South.⁴¹ Another ruler from the South, E-Anna(k)-tum of Lagash, also took that title,⁴² and the same is the case with rulers of Agade such as Sargon, Rīmush, and Man-ishtushu.⁴³ The connection of the title with Kish itself, therefore, need not always be very close, and it is possible to imagine that the author of the King List can

⁴¹ See U 13607, published by Burrows in *UE* II 312 f.

⁴² This can be concluded from the passage *SAK*, p. 22 v 20-vi 5: é-a-n-n-a-tú-m . . . -r a -i-n-a-n-n-a-k-e₄ . . . n a-m-e-n-s-i-l-a-g a š u^{k₁}-t a n a-m-l-u-g a-l-k i š i^{k₁} m u-n-a-t a-s i, "to Eannadu Inanna gave the kingship of Kiš from (i.e., growing out from) the Išakkuship of Lagaš" (Poebel's translation; see *PBS* IV 1, p. 129).

⁴³ See the inscriptions of these rulers listed in *RISA*, pp. 100-136.

have had a source subscribed, for example, *x l u g a l k i ši*, “*x* kings of Kish,”⁴⁴ although these rulers actually belonged to a dynasty of another city and were merely acknowledged as suzerains of Kish. For such a source there would be only one suitable place, namely before Etana; for we can be fairly certain that the Etana tradition, the genuine Kish tradition, carried unbroken down to periods in which the author of the King List was at home and where he could find no room for such a dynasty. The connection of the kings before Etana with Kish is thus open to doubt, and it seems better to leave them aside and to count as genuine Kish tradition only the kings following that ruler, that is to say, the last half of the 1st dynasty and all of the following dynasties.

To the second category, the smaller groups, belong (a) the dynasty of Ak-shak, (b) the dynasty of Maeri, (c) the dynasty of Agade, (d) the dynasty of Awan, (e) the dynasty of Hamazi, and (f) the dynasty of Adab. The first two of these contain six rulers each, the third contains eleven rulers, and the fourth three rulers. For each of them we can therefore assume a separate list from the city in question as the source which the author of the King List used. The last two, however, the Hamazi group and the Adab group, contain no more than one ruler each. Since we cannot assume that the author had “lists” which contained only one ruler, we must suppose that he got his information concerning these two rulers from other channels. It seems possible, for example, that they appeared as foreign conquerors in one of the other sources.⁴⁵

Summing up,⁴⁶ we may thus present the following conspectus of sources:

- I. A collection of date lists from various cities. Source of the material in the body of the King List. This collection comprised some eight texts:
 - A. Larger traditions:
 1. List from Kish containing 1st dynasty of Kish from Etana down, 2d, 3d, and 4th dynasties of Kish

⁴⁴ Such subscriptions telling what the lists dealt with must be presupposed in the individual lists. As a parallel compare the later Elamite lists of rulers published by Scheil in *RA* XXVIII (1931) 2, which are subscribed *12 šarrūpl šà a-wa-an^{k[1]}* and *12 šarrūpl si-maš-šu-ri*.

⁴⁵ Even more likely is it that these dynasties originally were more extensive than now, i.e., that each of them counted a reasonable number of kings in the original of the King List. They would then be in line with the normal lists of rulers. Evidence to support this assumption is discussed on pp. 99 and 102, nn. 174 and 186.

⁴⁶ The analysis presented here had reached its present form when Güterbock’s study of the problem in *ZA* n.F. VIII 4–6 appeared. It seemed impractical to work discussions of the points on which we differ from his results into our main argument, so we have preferred to discuss his solution separately and as a whole.

Güterbock assumes two main sources for the King List, a local tradition from Kish and a local tradition from Uruk, each of which would consist of mythological, legendary, and perhaps also historical elements. He differentiates between mythological and legendary as

2. List from Uruk containing 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th dynasties of Uruk
3. List from Ur containing 1st and 2d dynasties of Ur
4. List of unknown provenience containing the kings who now appear before Etana in the 1st dynasty of Kish

follows: "Das Wort Sage verwenden wir dabei in der herkömmlichen Bedeutung; die Grenze gegen den Mythus ist dadurch gegeben, dass im Mythus weder der Schauplatz noch die handelnden Personen der irdischen Realität angehören, während die Sage von realen, in die geschichtliche Sphäre gehörenden Personen und Ereignissen ausgeht." He counts as mythological the 1st dynasty of Kish down to Etana and the 1st dynasty of Uruk down to Gilgames, which we consider legendary, and as legendary the last part of the 1st dynasty at Kish and at Uruk, Kish II-IV, and Uruk II, which we consider as mainly historical. The material for this last part of the two traditions he assumes to have come from lists of names kept in the two cities in question. These two local traditions supplied the names, reigns, and the material in the "notes" for the kings of Kish and Uruk which we find in the list. The remaining information, that which concerns the dynasties of Ur, Akshak, Maeri, Awan, etc., was, according to Güterbock, derived not from local traditions but from royal inscriptions from the Enlil temple in Nippur: "Wir dürfen annehmen, dass die Gelehrten von Nippur hier allerlei Nachrichten vereinigt haben, die sie wenigstens zum Teil den Bau- und Weihinschriften im Enliltempel entnahmen."

As will be seen, Güterbock has on two points reached conclusions similar to ours. He assumes local traditions as sources, even though he does so in only two cases, Kish and Uruk, and even though his picture of these sources differs from ours. He also considers the possible existence of "Namenlisten . . . die in den beiden Städten geführt wurden," which is not so far away from our conclusion that the sources were date lists giving names and reigns of local rulers.

In general, however, we cannot follow his analysis. We must uphold our main division into epic-historical sources for the "notes" and individual date lists for the names and reigns. Güterbock assumes that his two main traditions, those of Kish and of Uruk, combined both kinds of material; but the material which is now found in the "notes" has been chosen according to such definite plan (unusual parentage, native city, profession, etc.) and has been put in shape and worked into the framework so uniformly that it must have been added en bloc by a single hand, that of the author. If it had constituted original elements of different sources this regularity would be unthinkable.

Nor can we accept Güterbock's suggestion that the first part of the 1st dynasty of Kish and of the 1st dynasty of Urul should derive from mythological tales. Mythological tales are generally concerned with a single hero only. It is assuming a great deal to presuppose a tale for every one of the five Uruk kings and thirteen Kish kings whom Güterbock's analysis assigns to mythological sources. A still greater difficulty is the fact that while mythological tales can have supplied the names of the list they would contain no information concerning the mutual order of the rulers, which is an important feature of the list. Our own assumption that these sections derive from lists of rulers just like the later parts of the dynasties in question seems therefore definitely preferable.

Lastly, we must reject the suggestion that royal inscriptions from Nippur formed the source for that part of the King List which was not covered by the two local traditions from Kish and Uruk. Royal inscriptions of this period rarely give information concerning the mutual order of two rulers—the Lagash inscriptions form an exception in this respect—and they *never* give any information concerning length of reign. Since figures for reigns could only have been found in date lists, which would also give the names of the kings in order, the author of the list could have gained little from royal inscriptions. We must therefore assume that these sections also are based on date lists.

B. Smaller traditions:

1. List from Agade with dynasty of Agade
2. List from Maeri with dynasty of Maeri
3. List from Akshak with dynasty of Akshak
4. List from Awan with dynasty of Awan

II. One or more texts of epic-historical type. Source of the material in the "notes"

METHODS

Having thus formed a general idea of the sources which the author of the King List had at his disposal, we may next consider in what way he has treated this material to produce his final work.

The dynasties of the King List are presented consecutively. At the end of each dynasty appears the sentence, "The city A was smitten with weapons; its kingship was carried to the city B," and the new dynasty is then introduced: "In the city B N. became king." It is thus clear that the author operates with the idea of a single "kingship" owned at different times by different cities and that his work is intended as a record of the vagaries of this "kingship" in which it is possible to see where it was at any given time. Since our author wrote his work from date lists, separate lists which enumerated the rulers of a given city as completely as possible and as far back as possible, it seems unavoidable that large sections in each of his sources would have been irrelevant because they dealt with rulers reigning at periods when their city was not in possession of the "kingship." To record the vagaries of the "kingship" as the author intended, he would therefore have had to arrange his local lists side by side in a sort of synchronistic table and then compile his own list by working down from the top, deciding for each successive period which city at that time held the kingship and including only the rulers from there.⁴⁷

When we test this assumption with the means at our disposal we find, however, that it disagrees with all other facts and would lead to untenable results. An example will illustrate this. From Mes-Anne-pada of the 1st dynasty of Ur down to Sargon of Agade the King List enumerates some forty-five rulers. If the author had worked in the manner described, these forty-five rulers must have followed one another in time. Now we know from archeological and epigraphical evidence that Mes-Anne-pada was roughly contemporaneous with Ur-Nanshe(k) of Lagash, and we know also how many rulers Lagash had from

⁴⁷ A supposition that the King List was composed in some such fashion has been generally held; it underlies such statements as "Alle diese, durch Originalinschriften als Oberherren erwiesenen Fürsten aber sind in den Königslisten übergegangen, vielleicht, weil sie Sumerer, Feinde der Semiten, waren, vielleicht auch, weil sie teilweise den religiösen *Patesi*-Titel dem weltlicheren *Lugal*-Titel vorzogen" (Unger in *OLZ* XXXVII [1934] 364) and "vermutlich sind diese Herrscher von der Überlieferung nicht als wirklich berechtigte Vollkönige anerkannt worden" (Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie* . . . , p. 37).

Ur-Nanshe(k) down to the time of Sargon; they number eleven. It is clearly impossible to imagine that forty-five rulers, many of whom were father and son, followed one another on the throne of Babylonia in the same period which in Lagash was covered by only eleven. The author of the King List therefore cannot have dealt with his material in the way he would have us believe.⁴⁸ To see what actually happened we must look for passages in his work which will throw light on his methods and where possible retrace his steps.⁴⁹

A good example is the treatment of the dynasties Kish III (Ku(g)-Baba), Akshak, and Kish IV. To make clearer what the author actually did we may first see what he should have done. The sources for the section must have been pre-Sargonic date lists, and as two cities are involved we can assume that the author had two such lists, an Akshak source from which he took the dynasty of Akshak and a Kish source for the two Kish dynasties. If he had worked by the selective method described above, these sources should have looked as follows:

	Akshak Source	Kish Source
Period A	N.	Ku(g)-Baba
Period B	Unzi	N.
	Undalulu	N.
	Ur-ur	N.
	Puzur-Nirah	N.
	Ishû-il	N.
	Shû-Sin	N.
Period C	N.	Puzur-Sin
	N.	Ur-Zababa(k)
	N.	Simu-dâr
	N.	Üṣi-watar
	N.	Eshtar-muti
	N.	Ishmê-Shamash
	N.	Nannia

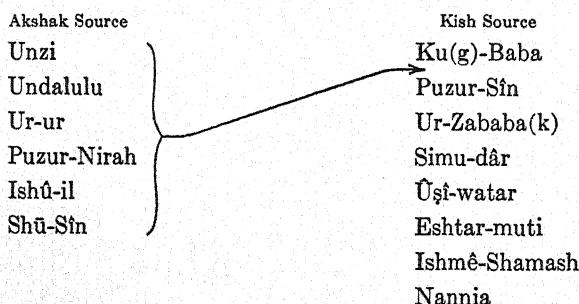
For Period A the author would have decided on Kish as seat of the kingship and would have entered Ku(g)-Baba in his list, disregarding the corresponding ruler of Akshak. In the next period, B, he would decide that Akshak was capital and enter the rulers from there, rejecting the corresponding rulers in the Kish source. Lastly, in the third period, C, he would come to the conclusion

⁴⁸ The example here quoted is due to Weidner, who already in 1923, in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* I 95, had pointed out that many of the dynasties which appear as successive in the King List were in reality contemporaneous. He uses the example as proof of this thesis in *AOF* III (1926) 198. Weidner's thesis is now accepted by all scholars.

⁴⁹ The examples mentioned in the following pages are for the major part well known. They were pointed out by Weidner in the articles quoted above and have been discussed by other scholars also.

that the kingship had returned to Kish once more and would again use the Kish source in preference to the Akshak source.

In reality, however, something quite different must have happened. The first ruler of Kish IV, Puzur-Sin, is stated to be the son of Ku(g)-Baba, who represents Kish III. These two dynasties must therefore have followed directly upon each other in the Kish source, and there accordingly cannot have been a series of rulers between them to correspond to the Akshak dynasty. The author has not rejected any material. Instead of preferring for a certain period the rulers of the Akshak source to contemporaneous rulers in the Kish source, he has forced a continuous list from Kish apart and inserted a list of rulers from Akshak. In other words, he is not working on a selective method; on the contrary, he uses all the material he has and interpolates one source into the other. Graphically we may express his procedure as follows:



Another passage where we can observe the working method of the author is the section from Ur-Zababa(k) of the 4th dynasty of Kish to Sargon of Agade, and here again we get similar results. The author has placed the 4th dynasty of Kish in front of the 3d dynasty of Uruk, Lugal-zage-si, and this in turn in front of Sargon of Agade. In a "note" to Sargon he states, however, that this king was originally cupbearer of Ur-Zababa(k), who is the second ruler of the 4th dynasty of Kish. It is therefore clear that Sargon must have reigned fairly close to this ruler in time; and, since we know that Sargon gained his supremacy over Babylonia by defeating Lugal-zage-si, we must assume that Lugal-zage-si gained his by defeating Ur-Zababa(k). The actual succession should therefore be

Ur-Zababa(k)
Lugal-zage-si
Sargon

and the author should have listed Lugal-zage-si just after Ur-Zababa(k). Instead we find that these two are separated in the King List by as many as five

rulers of Kish, namely Simu-dâr, Ûši-watar, Eshtar-muti, Ishmê-Shamash, and Nannia, who cover a period of 66 years.

These five rulers come of course from the Kish source which the author is using. Being a date list from that city, it must naturally have listed all rulers of Kish, including those who reigned after the hegemony of Babylonia had passed to Uruk and to Agade. These later rulers in the source, who were contemporaneous with Lugal-zage-si and Sargon and who had to acknowledge them as suzerains, should accordingly have been rejected by the author of the King List as only petty kings. Instead he has pulled Ur-Zababa(k) and Lugal-zage-si apart to make room for them. We see once more that our author does not reject any of his material but uses it all, even if he has to force apart rulers who belong together in order to get it in.

The examples which we have here mentioned are by no means isolated instances but could easily be supplemented with others which tell the same tale. They allow us to draw our first conclusion concerning the working methods of the author: He used his material to the full, was indeed so far from rejecting anything that he would even separate kings who belong together to get everything in.

This conclusion is of considerable interest. It means first of all that many of the dynasties listed as consecutive in the King List were in reality contemporaneous, and it explains effortlessly how the King List can give forty-five rulers for a period which was covered in Lagash by only eleven. Secondly, and just as important, it means that the groups representing the various sources which we have singled out earlier must give us fairly complete pictures of the documents for which they stand; for, if the author was using his material to the full, we must possess that material unabridged in his work.

Among the groups which we singled out there were three larger ones, the Kish, Uruk, and Ur groups, made up from material found in various places in the King List. If these groups, as is likely, contain the full amount of material given in the corresponding sources, the author can have done no more to the sources than cut them up and distribute them over his work. And it is obviously of interest to know how he did this cutting and what reasons can have prompted him to do such cutting at all. An example of how the editor cut has already been mentioned—the cut which separated Ku(g)-Baba from her son Puzur-Sin. This example is, however, exceptional, for nowhere else do we find an indication that the author has severed palpably organic connections between two rulers, and since a ruler is often stated to be the son of his predecessor there would be sufficient opportunity. It seems likely that the author generally placed his cuts more carefully, and there are indications of an original

division of the rulers into dynasties which seems to go back to the sources themselves and which probably influenced him.

The system of division which now dominates the King List is based on the various movings of the "kingship" from one city to another: "The city A was smitten with weapons; its kingship was carried to the city B." Since each of the author's sources dealt with a single city, it is clear that these divisions must represent the places where he has joined pieces of two sources. Along with these divisions we find, however, another system in which the beginning of each new sequence is indicated by explicit use of the words *lugal-àm*, "was king" or "became king," which were of course implied after every name in the list. Comparing the occurrences of the two systems, we see that the divisions made by the moving of the "kingship," divisions which represent the places where the author joined two of his units, seem dependent on the *lugal-àm* divisions, for they always follow them closely, whereas the latter are self-sufficient and can appear alone. In the beginning of the list both Etana and En-me(n)-barage-si are marked in this fashion as first rulers of dynasties although the "kingship" remains stable in Kish all the time. Since the system which results from the author's cutting and rejoining the sources, the "kingship" system, thus follows in the steps of the division into dynasties expressed by the *lugal-àm* formula, the latter must be primary and can be assigned to the original sources. Our author has found such divisions into dynasties there and has made his cuts according to them.

We have thus seen that the author of the King List has cut up the larger of his sources into smaller units and that in general he seems to have made his cuts according to an existing division into dynasties, so that the units he obtained were natural units, the old dynasties of the sources. It is natural to ask what purpose he can have had for treating his sources in this fashion.

As we have often had occasion to mention, the author of the King List operated on the theory of a single kingship of all Babylonia which could belong to only one city at a time. That this theory disagrees with actual facts—at least for the older periods of Babylonian history—need not be demonstrated. We know that different "kingships" existed side by side in Babylonia as late as the Agade period, probably even later. Since the author was thus working on a wrong theory, it seems inevitable that he must have run up against difficulties when he began to apply it to his material. The bulk of this material consisted of separate lists, each dealing with rulers of a different city. To make it agree with the theory of the single "kingship" it would be necessary to arrange these lists successively so that the "kingship" appeared to pass from the city of one source to the city of the next. Such an arrangement could, however, be

made in good faith only if the author knew of no synchronisms between his rulers. The lists which formed his sources must in reality have covered largely the same periods; so if he arranged them successively, rulers of different cities whom the synchronisms showed to be contemporaneous would of course appear far apart in his final list and thus expose the fallacy of the arrangement to him.

Now it can hardly be doubted that our author did know such synchronisms. One of the "notes" which he inserted in his work states that Sargon began his career as cupbearer to King Ur-Zababa(k) of Kish, so he must have known that these rulers were contemporaneous; and he cannot have avoided finding similar synchronisms in the material from which his other "notes" were derived. As we have seen earlier, the sources he used for this feature of the list must have been texts of the epic-historical genre: epics, legends, historical anecdotes, etc.; and such texts are extremely rich in synchronisms. It therefore seems certain that our author faced a serious contradiction between his theories and his evidence. In the light of this dilemma his treatment of the sources, which at first glance may appear curious, becomes very clear and understandable.

It is evident that if the author arranged the sources successively as just suggested and compared the result with what he possessed of synchronisms his longest sources would be the worst offenders; for, if two long lists which should actually be placed side by side are arranged consecutively, the distance between any two contemporaneous rulers in them will naturally be much greater than if the lists were short ones. If the long sources are cut up into smaller units, however, and the units are so arranged that a unit of one source is succeeded by the corresponding unit of the other source, the discrepancies can be considerably reduced. And this is exactly what has been done with the sources in the King List. As an example we may mention the treatment of the rulers of Uruk and Kish. There is here a synchronism between Gilgames of Uruk and Aka of Kish which the author may well have known.⁵⁰ If the complete Uruk source were placed after the complete Kish source, the two contemporaneous rulers, Gilgames and Aka, would be separated by sixteen other kings. If the sources are cut up into smaller dynasties and joined as we find them in the King List, however, only four rulers will intervene—an obvious improvement, even though it too is not correct.

The arrangement of the sources which we meet in the King List thus proves to be a compromise between two conflicting forces: on the one side the author's

⁵⁰ It appears in the text relating how Gilgames liberated Uruk by defeating Aka of Kish (see p. 145, n. 20).

theory of a single "kingship" and the successive arrangement for which it calls, on the other his knowledge of synchronisms showing up the errors to which that arrangement leads. The theory has prevented him from radically rectifying the errors, but he has tried to keep the worst of them down somewhat by cutting his largest sources and joining the resulting units separately.

Summing up, we can therefore characterize the author's working method as follows: He used all his material. In arranging it he was guided first of all by a dogma: that Babylonia had always been united in a single kingdom with a single capital, so that two different cities could never have held the "kingship" simultaneously. This dogmatic notion presupposed a successive arrangement of his sources, which were mainly separate lists of rulers of various cities, an arrangement which would necessarily conflict with the synchronisms which he knew from other parts of his material. To reconcile in some measure the synchronisms with the successive arrangement, the author therefore cut up the larger of his sources into smaller units, the dynasties of which they consisted, and joined the units separately; for by this means he was able to reduce some of the worst discrepancies, even though he naturally could never get anywhere near a true chronology. His treatment and arrangement of the sources become thus in reality a bed of Procrustes. They constitute an effort to force correct evidence into a mold shaped by an erroneous theory of Babylonian history.

V

HISTORICAL VALUE

RELATIVE VALUES OF FEATURES IN THE KING LIST

The results at which we have arrived in the foregoing pages have given us a general idea of the sources which the author of the King List had at his disposal and have shown us the manner in which he utilized them. We should accordingly be in a position to judge the historical value of his finished work, the King List.

Considering the King List and its information from this point of view, we can discard first of all those features which must be ascribed to the author himself, more exactly the arrangement and succession of the individual dynasties. As we have seen, the successive arrangement of the sources which the King List exhibits resulted from the author's erroneous theory of a single kingship. It is true that the author seems also to have had a number of synchronisms and that by cutting up his sources he tried to reconcile the arrangement in some measure with their data, but these efforts could hardly do more than reduce a few of the very worst errors and could not prevent the violent distortion of his chronology which the successive arrangement implied.

While the arrangement of the King List must thus be considered of negligible value, the actual material from which it has been built up inspires more confidence.¹ The material comes, as we have seen, mainly from local lists of

¹ This result agrees in several points with earlier estimates of the historical value of the King List. The worthlessness of the *arrangement* of the dynasties seems to have been suspected by Legrain already in 1922. He writes: "The problem of parallel dynasties is one of the most troublesome for Babylonian chronologists" (*PBS* XIII 17). It was brought up energetically by Weidner in 1923 in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* I 95 and later in *AOF* III (1926) 198. From then on parallelisms were admitted as probable or certain by most scholars, e.g. Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie* . . . , p. 38; Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* I (Paris, 1924) 5 f. and 100; Meissner in *WZKM* XXXII (1925) 296 and 303 and in his *Die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* (Wildpark-Potsdam, 1927) p. 88; Gadd in *UE* I (1927) 137 f.; Smith, *EHA*, p. 39; Landsberger in *OLZ* XXXIV (1931) 119.

As for the *material* of the King List, the obvious unreliability of the excessively long reigns found in the earlier part of the list was naturally recognized from their first appearance. But criticism has here gone farther than we have gone above and has raised the objection that kings who might be expected in the King List do not appear there. This point was made by Thureau-Dangin as early as 1918 (*La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, p. 66) and was often repeated later, e.g. by Langdon, *OECT* II 6 f.; Meyer, *op. cit.* pp. 36 f.; Smith, *EHA*, pp. 37-39; Landsberger, *loc. cit.* Considered together with the other

rulers, date lists kept in various cities for practical purposes; and the author has done little to them beyond cutting up a few of the longer ones and distributing through his compilation the smaller units thus obtained. Such materials must undoubtedly be considered very reliable sources of information, for most of these lists stop at the beginning of the Agade period and were therefore in all probability copies from that period; and the practical purpose which they served would guarantee their accuracy. Looking through these sources we find also that only a single point invites criticism. In the longest of them the earliest rulers appear with abnormally long reigns, often as much as several hundred years. At a certain point the reigns then change and become quite normal, keeping within what seems humanly possible. That the immense reigns are unhistorical is obvious. Their occurrence in our material must be ascribed to a tendency known also among other peoples of antiquity to form very exaggerated ideas of the length of human life in the earliest times of which they were conscious.² These reigns must therefore be rejected. Since the tendency which we have mentioned could of course have influenced only existing, more correct figures or, if the list gave no reigns for these rulers, have prompted somebody to add figures of this type, whereas it cannot have influenced or changed the names and their mutual order, there is obviously no reason to reject more than the exaggerated figures themselves.³

objections, this point has generally led to rejection of the King List. We may quote Thureau-Dangin (*loc. cit.*): "... les listes royales sont, pour la période antérieure à Lugalzaggisi, des témoins tout au moins suspects (historiquement parlant)"; Langdon (*OECT* II 6): "It is altogether obvious that the dynastic lists for the early period are totally inadequate"; and Landsberger (*loc. cit.*): "Daraus ergibt sich, dass wir uns von der Königsliste vollständig emanzipieren müssen." It is seldom we find a verdict as lenient as Gadd's (*UE* I 138): "... it may perhaps be regarded as a principle in dealing with the king-list to consider that the dynasties, the individual kings, and the general order of the accession of both, are for the most part authentic, but that the figures, both items and totals, need severe criticism." In the estimate of the value of the King List as a historical source which we give in this section we do not touch on the missing rulers at all. The importance of this point has, we believe, been greatly overrated, mainly because of the false impression of the scope of the King List which its author gives. We shall see later (pp. 180-83) that most of these "missing" kings have in reality no valid claim to be expected in the sources of the King List. For this reason our estimate of the value of the King List is higher than the usual one.

² Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.* p. 36: "Wie in der aegyptischen Darstellung der Vorgeschichte ist auch hier der Übergang von den mythischen Gestalten der Urzeit vor und nach der Flut zu den ältesten wirklich geschichtlichen Erinnerungen durch ein schematisch durchgeföhrtes Herabsinken der Lebensdauer und der Regierungsjahre von vielen Jahrhunderten . . . auf das gegenwärtige kurze Mass des menschlichen Lebens vermittelt." Cf. also the similarly high figures attributed to the Hebrew patriarchs in the Old Testament.

³ Cf. also the verdict of Smith concerning the still higher figures of the antediluvian rulers (*EHA*, p. 22): "An impartial consideration of all the evidence must allow the possibility

Our conclusion concerning the historical value of the King List must thus be that while the arrangement, the succession of the various dynasties, can be considered a later construction of no significance, we possess in the actual material of that document a historical source of high value, from which only some exaggerated reigns occurring with the earliest rulers should be segregated.

ISOLATION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOURCES

The conclusions at which we have here arrived are obviously of the greatest interest for Babylonian chronology. We have seen that the sources which the author of the King List used can be considered reliable, and we have seen also that the material of these sources must be embodied unabridged in the present King List (pp. 159-61). It should therefore be possible to undo the author's work, reconstruct and rearrange the original sources, and thus obtain a reliable scheme covering the older periods of Babylonian history. Such far-reaching consequences naturally make it desirable to test as far as possible the conclusions on which they are based; and the most convincing test is to undertake the reconstruction suggested, compare its result with what we know from other sources about the chronology of the period concerned, and see whether they agree.

Above we have seen how the individual sources used by the author can be singled out (pp. 153-58). To make our test these sources should be correlated and then compared with our other chronological material. For such correlation, however, synchronisms are necessary; and, as the synchronisms which we possess will allow us to correlate only five of the sources, those of Kish, Uruk, Ur, Agade, and Akshak, we must content ourselves with them. For the same reason material following the Agade dynasty in the King List has been left out of consideration for the time being.

THE KISH SOURCE

The source from which the author of the King List got his rulers of Kish may be reconstructed as shown on page 168.

The way in which the material can be singled out from that of the other sources has been shown earlier, where we have also seen that the source in all probability began with Etana. Instead of the "legendary" reigns which appeared in the source we have given the rulers in question average reigns of

that the names of these pre-diluvian kings and the city names associated with them may be based on evidence of their existence available to the Babylonians about 2300-2100 B.C. and unknown to us. In that case their names were connected with the figures arbitrarily, for some reason not yet apparent."

about 20 years, heightening them to 30 years, the average of a generation, in the cases where a ruler was followed by his son.⁴ Where two sons succeeded a

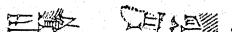
Etana	ca. 30 years
Balih	ca. 20 years
En-me(n)-nunna	ca. 20 years
Melam-Kishi(k)	ca. 20 years
Bar-sal-nunna	ca. 20 years
Samug	ca. 30 years
Tizkar	ca. 20 years
Ilku ²	ca. 20 years
Ilta-sadum	ca. 20 years
En-me(n)-barage-si	ca. 30 years
Aka	ca. 20 years
Su....	ca. 20 years
Dadasig	ca. 20 years
Magalgalla	ca. 30 years
Kalbум	ca. 20 years
ŠÈ-e	ca. 20 years
GÁ+ŠUB-nun-na	ca. 20 years
Enbi-Eshtar	ca. 20 years
Lugalmu	ca. 20 years
Ku(g)-Baba	ca. 30 years
Puzur-Sin	25 years
Ur-Zababa(k)	ca. 20 years
Simu-dâr	30 years
Uši-watar	7 years
Eshtar-muti	11 years
Ishmé-Shamash	11 years
Nannia	7 years

ruler on the throne and where we have thus only two generations, we have assigned 20 years to each of the three rulers.

The division into dynasties is that indicated by the *lugal-àm* formula-

⁴ Compare with these figures the average of the reigns found in the 1st dynasty of Babylon, in which son followed father almost from the beginning of the dynasty to the end: a little more than 27 years.

la. However, we have not separated Ku(g)-Baba from her son, because this separation seems to be secondary and due to the author of the King List, who needed room for the Akshak kings there. Only a few of the names need comment. The reading of the name Samug has been discussed above (p. 82, n. 85). Our reasons for preferring the form Magalgalla were given on page 96, note 154. This leaves only one name still to be discussed, the one which we read Enbi-Eshtar. The section in which it occurs is preserved only in version WB. The line in question reads, according to collation (the part outlined in dotted line represents erasure):



That this line is corrupt is clear. The ancient copyist apparently did not understand what he was copying. It seems possible, however, to trace the original form. The clue is given by the second sign, which can only stand for an original , that is, REC, No. 381, *g u r u n* : *enbu*. This sign may be considered in connection with the damaged sign at the end of the line which Langdon reads *i š* (?) but which more likely represents an original *t á r*. Since we know a king of Kish by the name Enbi-Eshtar,⁵ it seems highly probable that our scribe was trying to render as faithfully as he could a damaged line


i- e n b i n i - i b - e š₄ - t á r

“Enbi (gloss: Inib)-Eshtar.”

His smoothing of the surface or “erasure” would represent the shading of a modern copyist; and a few accidental scratches of his original were taken over as wedges, especially between  and , so that the latter became .

THE URUK SOURCE

The Uruk source can be reconstructed as shown on page 170.

As in the Kish source, we have replaced the “legendary” reigns with average reigns of 20 and 30 years. In the 2d dynasty also we have used average reigns, since the actual figures are unknown, but we have here made an exception from our usual procedure, inasmuch as we have assigned the maximum, 30 years, to each of the three rulers of the dynasty. Only one point, namely the 2d dynasty, which has come down to us in badly corrupted form, causes

⁵ PBS IV 1, p. 151.

Mes-kiāg-gasher	<i>ca.</i> 30 years
En-me(r)-kar	<i>ca.</i> 20 years
Lugal-banda	<i>ca.</i> 20 years
Dumu-zi(d)	<i>ca.</i> 20 years
Gilgames	<i>ca.</i> 30 years
Ur-Nungal(ak)	30 years
Utul-kalamma(k)	15 years
Laba . . . IR	9 years
En-nun-dara-Anna(k)	8 years
MES(?)-HÉ	36 years
Melam-Anna(k)	6 years
Lugal-ki-tun(?)	36 years
En-shakush-Anna(k)	<i>ca.</i> 30 years
[Lugal-kinishe-dudu]	<i>ca.</i> 30 years
[Lugal-kisal-si]	<i>ca.</i> 30 years
Lugal-zage-si	25 years

difficulties in the reconstruction of this source. WB, where it is best preserved, reads:

iv 45 u n u^{ki} - g a e n - š a k a_n - š a₄ - a n - n a
 46 l u g a l - à m m u 1 š u - š i i - a₅
 47 n a m - l u g a l - b i m u 2 š u - š i i - a₅
 48 m u 7 i - a₅

As will be seen, the text is in order down to line 46 only. The following line begins with the words n a m - l u g a l - b i , "its kingship," which in reality belong to the last part of the formula for change of dynasty, n a m - l u g a l - b i B^{ki} - š è b a - t ú m , "its kingship was carried to the city B," and continues with m u 2 š u - š i i - a₅ , "he reigned 120 years," which is a formula for the reign of a single ruler. The last line, m u 7 i - a₅ , "he reigned 7 years," also contains such a formula. What we have here can be no more than gleanings, a few disconnected phrases still readable in an otherwise badly broken section of the scribe's original. To judge from what is left, that section must originally have listed two individual rulers with their reigns and—presumably after a dynasty total which has been completely lost—closed with the formula for change of dynasty. We can therefore conclude that our dynasty had three rulers in all, En-shakush-Anna(k) and the two of whom we have only traces in the lines giving individual reigns.

This conclusion is supported by the evidence of another of our versions, P₂. This version states that five dynasties of Uruk, numbering 22 rulers, were enumerated in the King List; and from our other versions we know that the 1st, 3d, 4th, and 5th dynasties of this city had 19 kings in all. There are thus three left for the 2d dynasty, as the text of WB suggests. The text of Su₃₊₄ also, which preserves traces of this section, is explicable on the assumption of three rulers in the dynasty. It has after the reign of En-shakush-Anna(k) the entry [ú - g u b a] - a n - d é - a [.. m u i] - a₅, "Somebody who has disappeared reigned . . years," and then gives the dynasty total. This probably reflects a manuscript in which the second ruler and all but the reign of the third had disappeared in a lacuna.

Since all our sources thus seem to agree, we can confidently assume that the 2d dynasty numbered three rulers. Less fortunate are we when it comes to determining how long these rulers reigned. As we have seen, some figures have been rescued by WB from the damaged section in its original. These figures, however—60, 120, and 7—are not of a nature to inspire much confidence. We know, further, that they come from a fragmentary text which must have been difficult to read, and we have no means to judge how much of the figures the copyist could actually read, how much he himself restored. It is therefore impossible to use this material with any confidence, and we have accordingly assigned average reigns to the rulers concerned.

It remains to consider the identity of the rulers in this dynasty. The list has preserved the name of the first of them. It appears completely in WB only and is there written e n - ~~š a k~~ - DU - a n - n a (in photograph). That this writing must cover the name of the king En-shakush-Anna(k), who reigned in Uruk⁶ and who on epigraphic evidence can be placed a few generations before Lugal-zage-si, seems obvious.⁷ We have therefore assumed that the doubtful second sign ~~š~~ (in Langdon's copy) is to be identified with ~~š~~, earlier ~~š~~, which has the value š a k á n , and read the name e n - š a k á n - š a₄ - a n - n a .^{7a}

After e n - š a k á n - š a₄ - a n - n a our source must have listed two other rulers, who would come immediately before Lugal-zage-si. From historical inscriptions we know of two rulers of Uruk who must be assigned to

⁶ As suggested by his title l u g a l k a l a m - m a ; see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 153.

⁷ The identification has been accepted as probable by Langdon, *OECT* II 6 and 14, n. 9; cf. also Christian's remarks in *AOF* VIII (1932/33) 209.

^{7a} E n š a k a š a n n a (k) constitutes a normal later form of e n š a (g) k u š a n n a (k) , in which the unstressed u of k u š has been assimilated to the following a in a n n a (k) . Cf. e.g. d u r a h , "bouquetin," > d a r a (h) (d à r a) , *s u h a r (loan word from Akkadian *suharum*), "page," > s a h a r .

just that time: *lugal-ki-GUB-NI-d u₇-d u₇*, whose name, as recent texts have shown, is to be read Lugal-kinishe-dudu,⁸ and his son(?) Lugal-kisal-si.⁹ It therefore seems evident that these are the two names missing in our source, and we have accordingly restored them in the gap.¹⁰

THE UR SOURCE

The Ur source can be reconstructed as follows:

Mes-Anne-pada	<i>ca. 40 years</i>	80 years
⟨A-Anne-pada⟩	<i>ca. 40 years</i>	
Mes-kiāg-nunna(k)	36 years	
Elulu	25 years	
Balulu	36 years	
<hr/>		
[Lu]gal-[kinishe-dudu]	<i>ca. 16 years</i>	
[Lugal-kisal-si]	<i>ca. 30 years</i>	116 years
... .gi	<i>ca. 35 years</i>	
[Ka]-ku(g)	<i>ca. 35 years</i>	

As in the previous reconstructions, the division of the rulers into dynasties follows the *lugal-àm* indications. Version WB gives, it is true,

⁸ *Lugal-ki-GUB-NI-d u₇-d u₇* was, according to his own inscriptions, king of both Uruk and Ur (*SAK*, p. 156, No. 3 b). He reigned together with his son(?) Lugal-kisal-si, and the two kings appear together in an inscription (*SAK*, p. 156, No. 3 c). To the same time as *Lugal-ki-GUB-NI-d u₇-d u₇* belongs—for epigraphic reasons—a certain *Lugal-ki-ni-šè-d u₇-d u₇*, who similarly was ruler of Uruk (Gadd in *RA* XXVII [1930] 125 f.; Barton in *JAOS* LI [1931] 262–65; Krückmann in *An. Or.* XII [1935] 200 f.) and who in an inscription from Ur also appears together with Lugal-kisal-si (*UET* I, No. 3). In this inscription a certain *a-nu-zu* who is “merchant of the king Lugal-kinishe-dudu (d a m - k a r - r a [lugal]-`k i[-n i]-š è - d u₇ - d u₇ lugal-ka m)” dedicates an alabaster vase to Nanna for the life of Nin-tur and Lugal-kisal-si (n a m - t i lugal-kisal-[s i - š è]). Since *lugal-ki-GUB-NI-d u₇-d u₇* with transposition of the signs *GUB* and *NI* can be read *lugal-ki-ni-š e i s - d u₇-d u₇*, there can be no doubt that the two rulers are identical. That transposition of signs, which on the whole belongs to the period before E-Anna(k)-tum, can still occur at the time of our ruler is shown by the writing *lugal-si-kisal* (*BE* I 2, Pl. 37, 1. 7 from end) as against *lugal-kisal-si* (*AJS* XXI [1904/5] 63). Cf. also *BE* I 2, Pl. 37, 1. 4 from end: *n a m - t i - š è - l a* for *n a m - t i - l a - š è*. The identity of the rulers Lugal-kinishe-dudu and *lugal-ki-GUB-NI-d u₇-d u₇* was first pointed out by Langdon in *JRAS*, 1931, pp. 421–24. He overlooked, however, the important evidence of identity given by *A-nu-zu*’s inscription, because he read [lugal]-*k i[-GUB-n i]*-*d u₇-[d u₇]* instead of [lugal]-`*k i[-n i]*-*š è - d u₇-d u₇*, which it actually has.

⁹ *SAK*, p. 156, Nos. 3 c-d.

¹⁰ Thus also Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 107, Langdon, *OECT* II 14, n. 9, and others. Since these names can with great probability be restored where the list now has a lacuna, no conclusion as to insufficient knowledge on the part of the author of the list can be drawn from their alleged absence, as is done by Gütterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 7.

l u g a l - à m after the name of Mes-kiāg-nunna(k) also, but this variant does not appear in our other source for the section, P₂, and is obviously a mere scribal error. A copyist strayed from the line m e s - k i - á g - ^dn a n n a d u m u m e s - a n - n é - p à - d a back into the earlier m e s - a n - n é - p à - d a l u g a l - à m .

After the name of Mes-Anne-pada we have restored that of his son and successor, A-Anne-pada, which in all probability originally appeared in the King List at this place, although it has been lost by our present versions. As pointed out by Gadd,¹¹ the much too high reign now assigned to Mes-Anne-pada, 80 years, contrasts with the otherwise reasonable and trustworthy figures of the dynasty and suggests a conflation of two reigns, Mes-Anne-pada's own and that of his son. The name A-Anne-pada was probably lost by some early copyist, while the regnal years survived and were eventually added to those of Mes-Anne-pada.¹²

The following name, Mes-kiāg-nunna(k), appears in this form in P₂, whereas WB gives m e s - k i - á g - ^dn a n n a . That P₂ has preserved the correct form is shown by a contemporaneous inscription from Ur which reads [m e s - k]i - á [g] - n u n l u g a l u r f^ki , "Mes-kiāg-nun(ak), king of Ur."¹³ The form Mes-kiāg-Nanna(k) must be due to mishearing; this is especially likely since it is more natural to expect the element ^dn a n n a , the name of the chief god of Ur, than the element n u n n a in a royal name from that city. The figure for Mes-kiāg-nunna(k)'s reign likewise appears in two different forms. P₂ gives 30 years, and another source, L₁, which has preserved a total for this dynasty agreeing with that of P₂, probably had the same figure. WB, however, gives 36 years. There can be little doubt that WB is here the original; for while it is easy to see how the figure 36 if slightly damaged (««|¶¶) could become 30 (««) in a later copy, the opposite development would be difficult to account for.

Passing to the 2d dynasty we come—as in the Uruk source—to the most troublesome part of the tradition. We have here, however, a better basis to

¹¹ *UE* I 128. Gadd's conclusion has been accepted by most scholars, e.g. Sidney Smith, *EHA*, p. 36, and O. E. Ravn, *Babylonske og assyriske Kongers historiske Indskrifter*, p. 28.

¹² As the high reign of Mes-Anne-pada must be considered an indication that A-Anne-pada originally appeared in the list, the latter's absence in our present versions cannot be used as an argument to show that "the authors" of the list had incomplete knowledge of their subject, as is done by Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 7: "Gerade diese Auslassung des inschriftlich belegten Königs zeigt übrigens, wie unvollständige Kenntnisse die Verfasser der Königsliste hatten."

¹³ Burrows in *UE* II 321, n. 10 (U 11675).

work from. We may consider first the question of how many rulers and how many years should be assigned to that dynasty.

Version P₂ gives 3 dynasties, 13 kings, and 396 years as grand total for Ur. As shown by the total after the 1st dynasty, it assigned four rulers to that dynasty; and, since all our other versions agree that the 3d dynasty had five rulers, we can assume that P₂ likewise counted five rulers there. Subtracting the four rulers of the 1st dynasty and the five of the 3d dynasty from the thirteen given in the grand total leaves four rulers for the 2d dynasty, with which we are concerned.

As for the reigns, P₂ gives 171 years for the 1st dynasty, but the figures for the 3d dynasty are missing and must be supplied from other sources. It is clear that a reconstruction must be based on P₅, which belongs to the same main branch of the tradition (the B branch) as does P₂ and comes from the same place, Nippur.¹⁴ The figures given by P₅ in this section

Ur-Nammu(k)	18
Shulgi	58
Bür-Sin	9
Shū-Sin	7
I(b)bī-Sin	25

are by no means correct. Shulgi reigned, as we have seen above (p. 122, n. 321), only 48 years, not 58, and Shū-Sin reigned 9 years, not 7.¹⁵ We are therefore faced with the problem of whether these errors developed before the tradition which P₅ represents had separated from that of P₂, in which case they would have appeared in P₂ also, or whether they developed later, in which case they would be peculiar to P₅. It is very fortunate that this question can be decided, at least as far as the worst error, that in the reign of Shulgi, is concerned. We have seen above that the development from the original 𒌵 (48) to P₅'s 𒌵 (58) is naturally explained by the fact that P₅ places the sign for year, *m u*, *in front of* the figures, so that in 𒌵 a careless copyist could easily come to count one of the final <-wedges of *m u* as part of the figure. This arrangement must be considered an innovation introduced in P₅'s line of

¹⁴ Su₃₊₄, which also belongs to the same branch as P₂, cannot come into consideration. This text, as shown above (pp. 25, 51, and 108-9, nn. 219, 221, 224, and 228), has passed through a badly damaged ancestor which later copyists tried to restore as best they could. Since that ancestor (Su) must be placed at a point after the tradition represented by Su₃₊₄ and Su₄ had swerved off from the tradition represented by P₂, it is obvious that Su₃₊₄ contains a number of errors—due to restorations made in this damaged text—which P₂ would not have had.

¹⁵ The figure for I(b)bī -Sin, 25 years, differs by one year from that given in WB, 24 years, but is the more likely to be correct (see above, p. 123, n. 331).

descent after it had passed Y. P_2 , however, which we are trying to reconstruct, does not have this innovation but retains the arrangement characteristic of the B group as a whole, placing *m u* *after* the figure. Here such a mistake is not likely to happen, and we must accordingly conclude that P_2 had the original 48 years for Shulgi. It is somewhat more difficult to decide whether P_2 also retained the original figure for Shū-Sin, 9 years, or whether it already had the erroneous 7 years which we find in P_5 . However, since P_2 , written in the reign of Enlil-bani (see p. 6), is considerably older than P_5 , which dates from the second half of the 1st dynasty of Babylon (see p. 7), it seems probable that it would be less corrupt, and we may therefore restore it with 9 years for Shū-Sin. In any case this question is not of great importance, since it is a matter of only two years. We thus get

Ur-Nammu(k)	18
Shulgi	48
Bür-Sin	9
Shū-Sin	9
I(b)bī-Sin	25
<hr/>	
Total	109

as the most likely text for P_2 in the section with which we are concerned. Subtracting P_2 's total for the 1st dynasty of Ur, 171 years, and this reconstructed total for the 3d dynasty, 109 years, from the 396 years which P_2 has as grand total for all three Ur dynasties, leaves 116 years to represent the duration of the 2d dynasty of Ur.

The next question must then concern the identity of the four rulers. Besides the kings appearing in the 1st and 3d dynasties of Ur, we know from inscriptions three other kings of that city. Lugal-kinishe-dudu and Lugal-kisal-si, whom we have mentioned above, were kings of Ur as well as rulers of Uruk. A third king of Ur, Ka-ku(g), is mentioned in inscriptions of Rîmush of Agade, who defeated and captured him.¹⁶ Utilizing this knowledge, we may now turn to the sparse remnants of the section concerning the 2d dynasty of Ur which have been preserved in version Su_1 and try to restore its text (parallel to WB v 2-13):

iv	1	[u r ^{f^{ki}} - š ē]	^l b a - t ú m ¹	to Ur was carried.
		[u r] ^{f^{ki}(⁷)}		In Ur
		[l u g a l - k i - n i] - 's ē - d u ₇ - d u ₇ ¹		Lugal-kinishe-dudu
		[l u g a l] -	'a m ¹	became king

¹⁶ PBS IV 1, pp. 189 f., Text N xvii 3-9; p. 192, Text O xix 10-12; p. 193, Text P xix 31-34.

5	[.]	m u]	ī ¹ - a ₅	(and) reigned . . years;
	[l u g a l] -	k i s a l -	s i ¹ (?)	Lugal-kisal-si,
	[d u m u l u] g a l -	[k i n i - š è - d u ₇] -	'd u ₇	son of Lugal-kinishe-dudu,
	[.]	m u]	ī ¹ - a ₅	reigned . . years;
	[.] - g i ₄		 gi
10	[.]	'm u ¹	i - a ₅	reigned . . years;
	'k a ¹ -	'k ù ¹		Ka-ku(g),
	[d u m u] - g i ₄	- k e ₄		son of gi,
	[.]	'm u ¹	i - a ₅	reigned . . years.
	[4]	l u g a l		4 kings.

As so little is left of the signs, it is necessary to comment on the restoration line by line.

In line 1 [.] is left; we consider it remnants of [.]. In line 2 [.] is left; assuming that the shaded NA of the copy should be kī, we consider this remnants of [.]. In line 3 [.] is left; we consider it remnants of [.]. In line 4 there is [.], which we consider remnants of [.]. In line 5 [.] is left; this is obviously [.]. In line 6 [.] is left; it seems possible that this could represent [.]. In line 7 [.] is left; these traces agree with a restoration [.]. In line 8 [.] is left, obviously remnants of [.]. In line 9 the sign [.] (g i₄) remains at the end. Line 10 has rather complete traces of [...] 'm u¹ i - a₅ (NA). In line 11 we find [.], which we have restored as 'k a - k ù¹, assuming it to be the remnants of [.]. Line 12 has [.] [.]. Line 13 has the end of m u and quite clear i - a₅ (NA). Line 14, finally, gives the head of a single wedge of 4 (4) and a clear lug a l.

The text thus restored gives the order and names of the rulers but has not preserved a single reign. We must therefore content ourselves with the total, which, as we saw above, was probably 116 years. The figures given in our reconstruction of the source add up to this total but are otherwise chosen arbitrarily.

THE AKSHAK SOURCE

The reconstruction of this source presents little difficulty:

Unzi	30 years
Undalulu	12 years
Ur-ur	6 years
Puzur-Nirah	20 years
Ishū-il	24 years
Shū-Sin	7 years

The reigns here quoted are those found in version S. WB, which has preserved the first two kings and their reigns, gives Undalulu 6 years only; and Su_1 , which has the last two reigns, gives Shū-Sin 24 years instead of 7. Since both these variants can have developed out of the figures of S by simple dittography, whereas the opposite development would be hard to account for, we must assume that S preserves the original text. In the case of WB we must assume that the copyist erroneously looked at the figure 6 for Ur-ur which occurred in the line following the one he should copy; and in Su_1 the scribe has strayed from the line $\check{s}u\text{-}^4s\dot{i}n\text{ }d\dot{u}\text{ }m\dot{u}\text{ }i\text{-}\check{s}u\text{-}i\dot{l}\text{ }m\dot{u}\text{ }7\text{ }i\text{-}a_5$ back into the preceding $i\text{-}\check{s}u\text{-}i\dot{l}\text{ }m\dot{u}\text{ }24\text{ }i\text{-}a_5$ and thus got 24 years for Shū-Sin also.

That the figures of S are indeed the original ones is shown also by a curious correspondence pointed out by Langdon¹⁷ between their sum, 99 years, and the 100-year reign given to Ku(g)-Baba. As we have seen earlier, the author of the King List inserted the dynasty of Akshak between Ku(g)-Baba and her son Puzur-Sin, apparently because he knew a synchronism between Ku(g)-Baba and a ruler of that dynasty. This meant, however, that Ku(g)-Baba became separated from her son by as much as 99 years, the length of the dynasty of Akshak. To bridge the gap he prolonged her reign so that it became one year longer than the Akshak dynasty, namely 100 years.

THE AGADE SOURCE

This source may be reconstructed as follows:

Sargon	56 years	181 years
Rimush	9 years	
Man-ishtushu	15 years	
Naram-Sin	37(?) years	
Shar-kali-sharri	25 years	
Igigi		
Nanum		
Imi		
Elulu		

Imi
Elulu

3 years

Dudu

21 years

Shū-Durul

15 years

We have based the reconstruction on WB, which, as we saw above (pp. 26 f.), seems to give the better text for this section. The lacuna covering the

¹⁷ OECT II 7.

reigns of Narâm-Sîn, Shar-kali-sharri, and the four rulers of the interregnum has to be restored from the other versions. We have accepted the 3 years for the interregnum given by P₃ and S. The reign of 25 years for Shar-kali-sharri follows L₁ and Su₃₊₄, although it is not quite certain that this figure is preferable to the 24 years of P₃. The very high figure for Narâm-Sîn, 56 years, which we find in L₁ and, as it seems, in P₃ would make our individual reigns come to a sum higher than the total which WB indicates, 181 years; we have therefore given Narâm-Sîn a reign of only 37 years to make the reconstruction agree with WB's total.¹⁸

CORRELATION OF THE SOURCES

The next step after the reconstruction of the sources must obviously be to place them in correct relation to one another in time. To do this we must seek the help of synchronisms.

UR AND AGADE

We have mentioned above that the traces left of the name of the last king of the 2d dynasty of Ur could be restored as Ka-ku(g) and also that Rîmush of Agade in his inscriptions says that he defeated and captured "Ka-ku(g), king of Ur." This event is mentioned by Rîmush immediately after he has stated that Enlil gave him kingship,¹⁹ and we may therefore assume that it took place early in his reign. Allowing a year after Rîmush's accession for the young king to get settled and to prepare for his first great military undertaking, we may tentatively place the capture of Ka-ku(g) and the end of the 2d dynasty of Ur around Rîmush's second year.²⁰

AGADE, KISH, AND URUK

Rîmush's father, Sargon, began as cupbearer of Ur-Zababa(k) of Kish. Later on, however, he must have become independent for he founded a city of his own, Agade, and finally, having defeated and captured Lugal-zage-si of Uruk, became suzerain of all Babylonia. From Sargon's inscriptions we can conclude that the reign of his master Ur-Zababa(k) ended in a catastrophe which left Kish ruined and partly deserted; for, after the victory over Lugal-zage-si, Sargon states that he "restored" Kish, which must thus have been in

¹⁸ Cf. the discussion of this figure on p. 112, n. 251.

¹⁹ *RISA*, p. 118 xvi 52-xvii 6.

²⁰ Note also that Rîmush's campaign against Elam, which could hardly have been undertaken before he had Babylonia itself firmly in hand, falls as early as the third year after he had received the kingship (*ibid.* p. 124, No. 10 xxiii 50-55: *in sa-an-tim sa-li-is-tim ša-ti-en-lil šar-rus-tim i-ti-nu-sum*)—a fact which confirms our dating of the war against Ka-ku(g) to Rîmush's second year.

ruins at that time.²¹ Now the only one who could thus have destroyed Kish is obviously Lugal-zage-si, who in his fight for the hegemony of Babylonia must have defeated Ur-Zababa(k) and destroyed his city in the same ruthless way in which he had earlier destroyed other opponents. The defeat of Ur-Zababa(k) and the destruction of his city would of course make Ur-Zababa(k)'s cup-bearer, Sargon, independent, so that he could found his own city and set up as ruler there. We can therefore count Sargon's 56 years, which must represent his reign in Agade,²² from the fall of Ur-Zababa(k); and we must place that event in the reign of Lugal-zage-si. Since we do not know exactly when in that reign it occurred, we may place it at the middle, where we shall get the smallest margin of error.

AKSHAK AND KISH

The Chronicle Weidner contains an anecdote relating how Ku(g)-Baba, who lived under King Puzur-Nirah of Akshak, was given "the kingship of all lands" because of a pious deed.²³ The historical kernel in this quite legendary story would seem to be that Ku(g)-Baba of Kish vanquished Akshak and de-throned its king, Puzur-Nirah. We can therefore assume that Ku(g)-Baba and Puzur-Nirah were contemporaries; and since we do not know exactly when in Ku(g)-Baba's reign she gained her victory over Akshak, we may as above place it at the middle to get as small a margin of error as possible.

URUK AND LAGASH

By means of the synchronisms just mentioned we can correlate the five sources which we have reconstructed, but to facilitate comparisons with other chronological evidence it will be practical also to fix their position in relation to the list of rulers of Lagash which at present forms the backbone of Babylonian chronology for the older periods.

When Lugal-zage-si was as yet only e n s i (k) of Umma he captured and sacked Lagash severely.²⁴ His opponent in Lagash, Uru-ka-gina, carries from his second to his eighth year the title "king"; since his dates then stop abruptly

²¹ Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 176: "Šarru-kin, king of the land, restored Kiš (i.e., the people of Kiš) in its (old) place. Their city (or the city) he gave to them as a dwelling place."

²² As we have seen, the sources used by the author of the King List were *local* date lists.

²³ Güterbock in *ZA* n.F. VIII 51 and 54. Güterbock objects to Weidner's reading, Puzur-Sahan (*AOF* III [1926] 198; *Altorientalische Studien Bruno Meissner . . . gewidmet . . .* [Altorientalische Gesellschaft, "Mitteilungen" IV (Leipzig, 1928-29)] p. 230), on the grounds that there is not room for the sign muš : ša ḥ a n, n i r a h; but the remnants shown in the copy and photograph published by him suit indeed a somewhat cramped muš very well.

²⁴ *SAK*, pp. 56 and 58. Lugal-zage-si is called "e n s i (k) of Umma" in rev. iii 11-13.

we may place Lugal-zage-si's attack there. In the King List Lugal-zage-si's reign is given as 25 years, but as this figure comes from an Uruk source we must assume that it refers to his reign in that city only. The sack of Lagash should therefore be some years earlier; as we do not know exactly how many, we may use the minimum and equate the eighth year of Uru-ka-gina with the year before that in which Lugal-zage-si ascended the throne of Uruk, admitting that we may be skipping some years.

From tablets dated to their reigns we know that Uru-ka-gina of Lagash ruled 8 years and that his immediate predecessors, En-e(n)tar-zi(d) and Lugal-anda, ruled 5 and 7 years respectively. For the time before Lugal-anda we lack such indications; but, since the eight rulers from Gurshar to En-Anna-tum II represent seven generations, we may ascribe the average length of a generation, thirty years, to each of them except A-Kurgal(ak) and his two sons, E-Anna(k)-tum and En-Anna-tum I. These three together represent only two generations, and we must therefore count only twenty years for each.

We thus get Table I.

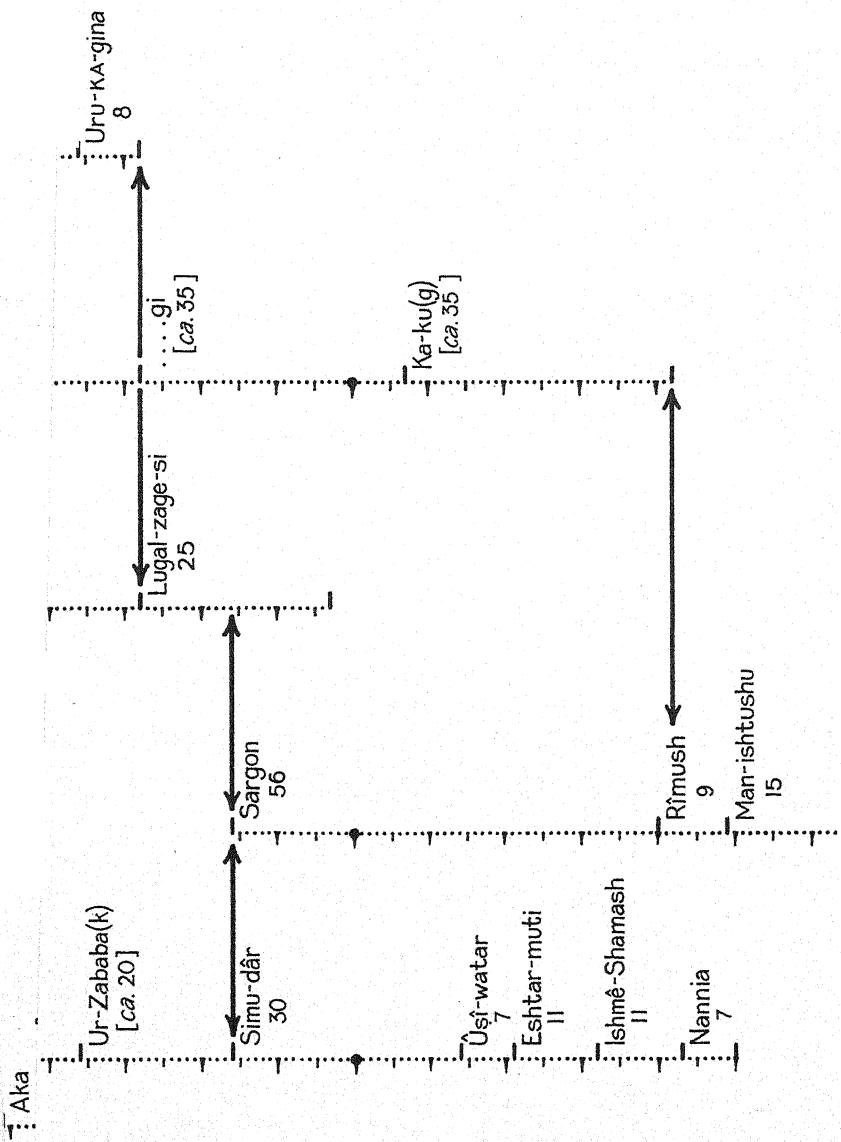
COMPARISONS WITH DATA FROM OTHER DOCUMENTS

The table which we have drawn up cannot, of course, claim absolute exactitude. In correlating the sources we often had to reckon with a small margin of error, and in several sections we had to use average figures for the reigns. These possible inexactitudes can, however, have influenced only the details. The main lines of the scheme are not dependent on them and can be wrong only if the foundation on which we have built—that the dynasties in the King List can be pieced together into complete individual lists with reliable material—is itself erroneous.

The comparison of the table with other chronological evidence will therefore be a test of fundamentals. If the chronological facts to be found in royal inscriptions and other independent sources do not fit the picture which this table gives, then the analysis and evaluation of the material in the King List which we have given above must have been false. Correspondingly, essential agreement will prove that analysis correct.

“MISSING RULERS”

The first question which such a comparison raises must concern the fact that relatively few rulers appear in both the King List and outside material. This has sometimes been quoted as an indication that the King List is not reliable (see pp. 2-3; nn. 10 and 12 above) but is in reality only to be expected in view of its scope and nature. As we have seen, the author had as sources date



lists from a limited number of cities. A few of these were fairly long, but most of them were only short lists. His material was thus limited in both time and place. There is, to quote an example, nothing extraordinary in the fact that none of the many rulers of Lagash whom we know from their inscriptions reappears in the King List, for the author had no list from Lagash among his sources. The same reason explains the absence of rulers from Umma, the neighbor of Lagash, and from many other cities. The limitations in time must also be taken into consideration. Inscriptions of E-Anna(k)-tum of Lagash state that he defeated a ruler of Akshak by the name of Zuzu.²⁵ This ruler is not mentioned in the King List. But, as our table shows, the author's source for Akshak began sometime within the reign of E-Anna(k)-tum, and Zuzu can very well have preceded the first ruler mentioned in that source, Unzi. It may even have been the very defeat of Zuzu at the hands of E-Anna(k)-tum which brought a new dynasty, that of Unzi, to the throne in Akshak.

Just as in the case of Akshak, we know rulers of Ur who do not appear in the Ur source used by the author of the King List, namely Mes-kalam-du(g) and A-kalam-du(g).²⁶ But the Ur source begins with the 1st dynasty of Ur, and stratigraphic evidence has shown that Mes-kalam-du(g) and A-kalam-du(g) belong to the time before that dynasty;²⁷ it is therefore natural that we do not find their names.²⁸

Lastly we must consider the case of Kish. We know a certain number of rulers who in their inscriptions designate themselves as kings of Kish but who do not appear in the Kish source, namely Me-silim,²⁹ Lugal. . . .,³⁰ Mes-Anne-pada,³¹ Ur-zaged,³² Lugal-tarsi,³³ Sargon, Rīmush, and Man-ishtushu.³⁴

²⁵ *SAK*, p. 20 iv 27-v 8.

²⁶ *UE* II 316 and Pl. 191 (U 11751, U 11825, U 10001, U 10002, U 10004, U 10081).

²⁷ Woolley, *UE* II 218-22. The evidence of stratigraphy there presented seems to us decisive and unshakable. We have seen no argument for a lower date which could be considered convincing.

²⁸ The special case of A-Anne-pada, who probably appeared in the King List in its original form, has been discussed in detail on p. 173, n. 12.

²⁹ *SAK*, p. 160; Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab* (*OIP* XIV [1930]) Nos. 1 and 5. Mentioned as king of Kish by En-temena (*SAK*, p. 36 n i 8-9).

³⁰ *Déc.*, Pl. 5 *ter*, No. 1. See below, n. 34.

³¹ *UE* II 312 f. (U 13607): [m e] s - a n - n é - p à - d a l u g a l k i š i k i .

³² *SAK*, p. 160.

³³ *Ibid.* and *YOS* I, No. 6.

³⁴ See the inscriptions of these rulers listed in *RISA*, pp. 100-136. The famous spearhead from Telloh (*Déc.*, Pl. 5 *ter*, No. 1) is inscribed l u g a l . . . l u g a l k i š i . The traces following the initial l u g a l are at present undecipherable. In the first reproduction

The reason why these rulers are missing is easy to see. It is well known that the title "king of Kish" was so highly prized that rulers of other cities preferred to style themselves "king of Kish" rather than king of their own city if they could claim that Kish acknowledged their suzerainty. The sources of the King List, on the other hand, were local date lists concerned with local rulers only. In such a source we should therefore find the local rulers of Kish and not the suzerains. Now we can show from other material that four of the kings mentioned above actually were only such suzerains and belong elsewhere, namely Mes-Anne-pada, whose city was Ur, and Sargon, Rimush, and Man-ishtushu, who belong in Agade. And since the others, Me-silim, Lugal. . . ., Ur-zaged, and Lugal-tarsi, have no more claim to connection with Kish than those four, it is natural to assume that they are missing in the Kish source for the same reason; they are suzerains and not genuine rulers.³⁵

In reality there is only one case where we have reason to assume that one of the sources has omitted a ruler whom we could have expected to find. We possess the inscription of a certain Utuk who styles himself "e n s i (k) of Kish" and dedicates a vase to the city god Zababa.³⁶ In this case, therefore, we have a genuinely local ruler; and we must accordingly assume that the Kish source as we have it has lost his name in the course of tradition, as could, naturally, happen.

of the spearhead (*RA* III [1896] 53, Fig. 1) they were rendered 'ur', which would give the name ur-lugal (ugal-ur with transposition of signs) lug al kiši, "Ur-lugal(ak), king of Kish." Since this reproduction was based on photographs alone (Heuzey in *RA* III 54, n. 2), whereas the reproduction in *Déc.* (cf. also *RA* IV [1897] 111, Fig. 18) is made from the monument itself, we can hardly accept its reading, however tempting an identification of its Ur-lugal(ak), king of Kish, with Ur-lugal(ak), son of Gilgames, would be. (The date of the lance—it was found discarded[?] at the Ur-Nanshe(k) level [*RA* IV 111]; note also absence of determinative after kiši—is clearly before Ur-Nanshe(k); the Gilgames text mentioned on p. 145, n. 20, suggests that Kish at Gilgames' time acknowledged the supremacy of Uruk.)

We have not included any reference to a1- [] lug al kiši in the Stele of Vultures rev. xii, since, as Poebel has pointed out (*PBS* IV 1, p. 167, n. 1), it is "entirely uncertain" that the sign a1- begins the name of a king. We are also disregarding the name la- -ši-i mentioned by Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* I 5, until full publication of the inscription in which it appears makes it possible to check the reading.

³⁵ That this explanation holds good can be directly shown in the case of Ur-zaged, who in his inscription styles himself lug al kiši lug al [. . . .], "king of Kish, king of" Here the title "king of Kish" is clearly placed before the original title of the king because of its greater importance. It should be mentioned that Langdon also (*OECT* II 6 f.) considers the explanation given above as a probable reason why certain "kings of Kish" are not mentioned in the King List. Cf. also Landsberger in *OLZ* XXXIV (1931) 121, n. 3: ". . . ist die Lokalisierung des Me-silim in Kiš nicht mehr zwingend."

³⁶ *SAK*, p. 160.

We have thus reviewed the question of the relative scarcity of overlaps between the material in the King List and the contemporaneous inscriptions. We see too that there is only a single case in which we could actually have expected to find a "missing" ruler mentioned in the King List,³⁷ and that one case is easily explicable as an accidental omission in the King List or in its source in the course of tradition. There is accordingly no disagreement here between the evidence of the inscriptions and the sources of the King List.

SYNCHRONISMS

We may now turn to the more positive and definite part of the comparison and consider the outside evidence which has a bearing upon the time and relative position of rulers who do appear in the sources which we have correlated in our table.

EN-TEMENA-LUGAL-KINISHE-DUDU

An inscription of En-temena states that this ruler concluded "brotherhood" with the *ensi* (k) of Uruk, Lugal-kinishe-dudu.³⁸ These two rulers must therefore have been contemporaries. Comparing our table, we see that the reigns of En-temena and Lugal-kinishe-dudu partly overlap. There is thus at this point full agreement between the table and the outside evidence.

EN-SHAKUSH-ANNA(K)-ENBI-ESHTAR

An inscription of En-shakush-Anna(k)³⁹ relates that he defeated and captured Enbi-Eshtar, king of Kish. Reconstructing the Kish source used by the author of the King List, we found that the name of the king before Lugalmu should be read Enbi-Eshtar (gloss based on form Inib-Eshtar; see p. 169); now that the sources have been correlated, we see that the reign of this ruler corresponds in its last part to that of En-shakush-Anna(k).⁴⁰ There is thus here also perfect agreement between the table and the outside evidence.

³⁷ Since we are here concerned with the question of whether or not the sources of the King List were so elliptical that their evidence cannot be used, we have not counted the two cases in which existing traces show that a ruler originally appeared in the list but was lost during the course of tradition, namely Mashda (pp. 21-22) and A-Anne-pada (p. 93, n. 145), nor those cases where rulers known from inscriptions can plausibly be restored in existing lacunas, such as the rulers of Ur II and certain Gutian kings. Comments on these cases will be found in the notes to the text of the King List in chap. iii.

³⁸ Gadd in *RA* XXVII (1930) 125 f.; Barton in *JAOS* LI (1931) 262-65.

³⁹ *PBS* IV 1, p. 151.

⁴⁰ The King List uses a late form of the name, En-shakash-Anna(k); see p. 171.

EN-SHAKUSH-ANNA(K)-ELULU

An inscription of En-shakush-Anna(k)⁴¹ tells that this ruler was son of E-*li-1i-n* [a]. Elili(n) appears as E-*li-1i*, king of Ur, in his own brick inscription⁴² and as E-*lu-lu* in the 1st dynasty of Ur in the King List.⁴³ Comparing our table, we see that Elulu's reign immediately precedes that of En-shakush-Anna(k) in time, as should be expected on the basis of the synchronism.⁴⁴ There is thus again agreement between the table and outside evidence.

A-ANNE-PADA-ABOUT UR-NANSHE(K)

Excavations in al-^cUbaid produced a few short inscriptions of the ruler A-Anne-pada of Ur. From the orthography of these inscriptions and of a few others found with them it is possible to date A-Anne-pada fairly exactly in relation to the rulers of Lagash. Fundamental here is Gadd's thorough study of the material in *Ur Excavations I* 128-37, which calls attention to the following significant points:

- a) The A-Anne-pada inscriptions use the verbal infix -šè- instead of -ši-. The change from -šè- to -ši- begins with En-temena and ends with Uru-ka-gina.
- b) The A-Anne-pada inscription TO 160 is written on a marble tablet shaped like a plano-convex brick, which recalls the inscribed bricks of Ur-Nanshe(k) and a contract of E-Anna(k)-tum written on a brick.
- c) Signs constituting a word are still written in arbitrary order; this usage practically disappears before E-Anna(k)-tum.^{44a}
- d) The signs on stone most resemble those of Ur-Nanshe(k), but these in turn do not vary much in the course of his dynasty. The signs on clay occupy a position between those of the Fara tablets and those of the En-temena-Uru-ka-gina tablets, but seem to resemble the latter more closely.

⁴¹ W. K. Schileiko, *Votivi Natpisi Šumerinski*, p. 11, l. 5, Pl. III 3, quoted by Unger in *RLA* II 309; cf. *ibid.* p. 490. We do not have access to Schileiko's book.

⁴² S. Smith in *JRAS*, 1932, p. 306.

⁴³ The identifications were already made by Unger in *RLA* II 490.

⁴⁴ That En-shakush-Anna(k) was king of Uruk, as shown by the King List and supported by his title (see Poebel, *PBS* IV 1, p. 153), whereas his father Elulu, as shown by his title and by the King List, ruled in Ur, suggests that Elulu had one of his younger(?) sons (En-shakush-Anna(k)) made ruler of Uruk when the dynasty there came to an end (note that En-shakush-Anna(k) begins a new dynasty, and cf. p. 162). That the same family would thus have ruled both in Ur and in Uruk throws light on the history of the following times, explaining satisfactorily why the kingship of Ur on Balulu's death passed to Lugal-kinishe-dudu, the successor of En-shakush-Anna(k) in Uruk.

^{44a} Sporadic examples of the old usage in texts which otherwise write the signs in their true order can be found in later times (examples have been collected above on p. 172, n. 8). This does not, however, detract from the value of that usage as a dating criterion as long as we judge by the general usage of the text or texts to be dated, not by isolated instances.

The evidence of these texts Gadd summarizes as follows:

- a) gives (probably) before En-temena
- b) gives Ur-Nanshe(k) and E-Anna(k)-tum
- c) gives before E-Anna(k)-tum
- d) gives (probably) about Ur-Nanshe(k) but later than the Fara tablets.

He draws the conclusion that "so far, then, as the successive tests have given tangible results, the agreement is striking, and the date indicated is somewhat before, but not very long before, the reign of Ur-Ninâ [Ur-Nanshe(k)]." To a very similar date, somewhat before Ur-Nanshe(k), Landsberger comes in *OLZ XXXIV* (1931) 117-26.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ V. Christian's treatment of the criteria in *ZA* n.F. IV (1929) 234 f. is not satisfactory in method, and his conclusion that the data favor a date within the period from E-Anna(k)-tum to En-temena cannot be accepted. The diagram in which Christian arranges the criteria tends to obscure their true significance. Thus this diagram gives the tablet form as indication for the period from En-temena to Uru-**KA**-gina. In reality, however, the tablet form in question appears already in the Fara tablets, so that this criterion is compatible with any date from somewhere before Ur-Nanshe(k) down to Uru-**KA**-gina. A similar case is the criterion represented by the shape of the signs on clay. We have only two groups of texts with which we can compare the A-Anne-pada signs: the Fara tablets and the Uru-**KA**-gina tablets. Gadd has shown that the A-Anne-pada signs resemble the signs used in the En-temena-Uru-**KA**-gina period more than those used in the Fara tablets. Since we do not know when in the period which separates the Fara period from the En-temena-Uru-**KA**-gina period the sign forms which we find in the latter developed, the fact that the A-Anne-pada signs resemble the En-temena-Uru-**KA**-gina signs more than the Fara signs only proves that A-Anne-pada is later than Fara, i.e., belongs somewhere in the time from after the Fara period down to the end of the En-temena-Uru-**KA**-gina period. It is therefore not correct, as Christian does, to use this criterion as indicating the period from En-temena to Uru-**KA**-gina only, for En-temena does not represent an upper limit.

The way in which Christian uses his diagram is likewise open to criticism. The diagram is arranged chronologically, and each of the various criteria is represented by a vertical black line. Counting how many such black lines cross the horizontal bands allotted to E-Anna(k)-tum and En-temena, Christian states: "Aus dieser Aufstellung ergibt sich, dass von acht Kriterien sechs für die Periode Entemena's, fünf für die Eannatum's sprechen, nur eines scheint eine frühere Zeit zu verlangen." But this statistical method can never lead to correct results, for the important thing is to find a period at which all the criteria overlap or toward which they approximate in time. Thus if we had an inscription which showed three orthographic or stylistic peculiarities which lasted down to the time of Ur-Nanshe(k) and then went out of use, and ten such peculiarities which were known only from documents of the time of E-Anna(k)-tum and later rulers such as En-temena and Uru-**KA**-gina, we should obviously have to conclude that the inscription was written in the period between Ur-Nanshe(k) and E-Anna(k)-tum, i.e., under A-Kurgal(ak), because only this intermediate period could have produced an inscription which had both old and new features. It would obviously be wrong to state that because ten of the criteria "spoke for" the period of En-temena, whereas only three "called for" an earlier date, the inscription should be dated to the time of En-temena.

Lastly we must mention Christian's reasons for rejecting as a criterion the transposition

This result is undoubtedly correct in all essentials and can be modified only within narrow limits. There is reason, however, to call attention to a criterion which Gadd has rejected as insignificant. The A-Anne-pada inscriptions use suffixes; and, as is well known, suffixes, although common in the inscriptions of E-Anna(k)-tum, do not appear in those of Ur-Nanshe(k). In Gadd's opinion it is doubtful whether this peculiarity of Ur-Nanshe(k)'s inscriptions is a true indication of archaism, since "no great change in the usage of the language can be supposed to have taken place within the narrow limits of two generations." He therefore rejects the criterion. In reality, however, the change in question does not reflect a change in language but is merely a further step in that long process which brought the system of writing ever nearer to the spoken word. It is thus merely an orthographic change, which of course would not need so much time as a change in language. Since Ur and Lagash are situated near each other and must have had close cultural connections, we can obviously—even if we admit that Ur may have been the more progressive—hardly assume that the improvement would take more than a generation at most to penetrate to Lagash. Gadd's dating "somewhat before, but not very long before, the reign of Ur-Ninâ [Ur-Nanshe(k)]" is therefore better modified to "approximately the time of Ur-Nanshe(k)." This agrees very well with the places which the two rulers take in our table, and there is thus once more agreement between the two groups of evidence.

GILGAMES-AKA

An epic text deals with a war between King Aka of Kish, to whom Uruk owed allegiance, and Gilgames, who defeated Aka and liberated Uruk (p. 145, n. 20). We have stated earlier that the material of epics and historical legends must be fairly old and can hardly postdate by many generations the historical persons concerned. We can therefore accept the synchronism here presented. Comparing it with the table, we see that it agrees perfectly. The reign of Aka falls within that of Gilgames by several years.

of the signs, the criterion which suggests a date to the time of Ur-Nanshe(k) or earlier: "Die Abweichung von der regelmässigen Zeichenfolge, um die es sich hierbei handelt, findet sich auf dem Kurlil-Torso, der aus stilkritischen Gründen etwa der Periode En-temena's zuzuweisen sein dürfte. Das aus der Inschrift geschöpfte Argument, das ein höheres Alter zu fordern scheint, wird dadurch wohl hinfällig." Since it can safely be stated, however, that—with our present limited knowledge of Sumerian statuary—the criteria of style which Christian quotes (*op. cit.* p. 236) are of exceedingly doubtful value as dating evidence, we should only be rejecting a safe criterion in favor of a very unsafe one if we followed him.

TYPES OF PERSONAL NAMES

To a time somewhat before Ur-Nanshe(k) of Lagash belongs a group of tablets of economic and administrative character found in Fara.⁴⁶ These tablets mention a large number of persons and give a good impression of the types of proper names then in vogue. The next large group of tablets which enables us to study Sumerian proper names comes from the period of Lugal-anda, En-e(n)tar-zi(d), and Uru-ka-gina of Lagash, and the names of this later group show that considerable changes have taken place: certain names do not occur any more, elements which were frequent in the Fara period are now no longer current, etc. We may mention some of these changes:⁴⁷

- a) In the Fara texts the name A k (or A ka) is common. Deimel, who has collected the names in these texts, lists seventeen occurrences. This name has disappeared completely in the Uru-ka-gina period.
- b) The Fara texts know an element bar, occurring in such names as A b - b a r - t a b, Bar - m e s (?) - r a (i.e., Mes - b a r - r a), Bar - s i - s a r, ⁴⁸ S ü d - n u - b a r, E - u r u - b a r, E d i n - b a r, Ur - b a r - d a, K a - b a r, L ü - b a r - z i - d a, and Mes - b a r - r a. This element has disappeared in the names of the Uru-ka-gina period, where we find b a r only in the compound verb i g i - b a r, "to see."
- c) Another element which is fairly common in the Fara names is PA₄-GIŠ-BÍL or ^{PA₄}PA₄-GIŠ-BÍL, read p a₄-g i š - g e₁₀ or ^{PA₄}p a₄-g i š - g e₁₀, "sprout of a new tree," which occurs in the names Pa₄-g i š - g e₁₀-á-n u - k ú š (written g i š - p a p - BÍL - á - n u - k ú š and p a p - g i š - BÍL - á - n u - k ú š), Pa₄-g i š - g e₁₀-k a l a m - d u₁₀ (written g i š - p a p - BÍL - k a l a m - d u₁₀) or ^{PA₄}p a₄-g i š - g e₁₀-k a l a m - d u₁₀ (written p a - g i š - BÍL - p a p - k a l a m - d u₁₀ and p a p - g i š - BÍL - p a - k a l a m - d u₁₀), Pa₄-g i š - g e₁₀-d u₁₀ (written p a p - g i š - BÍL - d u₁₀), Pa₄-g i š - g e₁₀^{ga}, and Pa₄-g i š - g e₁₀-d u g u d^{müsen} (written ⁴⁹p a p - g i š - BÍL - d u g u d^{müsen}). This element also has disappeared before the Uru-ka-gina period.
- d) A very common element of the Fara names is k a l a m, which appears in A m a - k a l a m, G i g - l a (?) - k a l a m, E n - k a l a m (?), E n - k a l a m - d u₁₀, E n - k a l a m - x (LAK, No. 503), E n - n u - k a l a m - š è, E n - n i n - k a l a m, Ur - é - k a l a m, K a l a m, K a l a m - d u₁₀, K a l a m - k u - l i, K a l a m - x (LAK, No. 503), L u g a l - a - k a l a m, N i n - k a l a m - ?, S a l - e n - k a l a m (?), and Pa₄-g i š - g e₁₀-k a l a m - d u₁₀ or ^{PA₄}p a₄-g i š - g e₁₀-k a l a m - d u₁₀ (both written as above). In the Uru-ka-gina period

⁴⁶ Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara I and III* (WVDOG XL and XLV [1922 and 1924]). On the date of the texts see Vols. I 4-5 and II 1*-2*; Deimel in *Orientalia* No. 6 (1923) pp. 51-54; Landsberger in *OLZ* XXXIV (1931) 123.

⁴⁷ The changes were determined through a comparison of the proper names from the Fara tablets listed by Deimel, *Die Inschriften von Fara III* 18*-48*, with the onomastic material contained in the texts from the En-temena-Uru-ka-gina period which Deimel has transliterated in various numbers of *Orientalia* from No. 14 to No. 44.

this element is so rare that we can quote only two examples, *E n - k a l a m (?) - m a (?)* and *M u - n i - k a l a m - m a*.

e) Several Fara names contain the element *men*: *M e n - u₄ - g i d*, *M e n - u₄ - . . . - d u*, *M e n - p a - è*, *M e n - m u*, and *L u g a l - m e n*. In the Uru-*KA*-gina period this element is limited to the stereotyped connection *m e n - z i - d i m₄* and appears outside it only once: *M e n - e n - t u*.

f) The element *mes* is extremely frequent in the Fara texts. Deimel lists twenty-two different names beginning with this element. In the Uru-*KA*-gina period it has practically disappeared and is known to the writer from a single name only, *M e s - z i*.

g) As frequent as *mes* is the element *nun*. Deimel lists about fifty names in which it occurs. In the Uru-*KA*-gina period it has disappeared and is found only in names composed with old names of deities or buildings, such as *“E š - n u n*, *E - k a - n u n - d i*, *G á - n u n*, *G í r - n u n*, and *I r - n u n*.

Comparing the rulers' names which appear in the King List, we observe that several of the earlier names in the traditions of Kish, Uruk, and Ur are composed with the elements which we have here mentioned, elements which were common in the Fara period but had disappeared already in the time of Uru-*KA*-gina. This observation is of considerable interest. It shows first that we actually have genuine and old tradition in the King List, for such names naturally could not have been invented in late periods. Secondly it gives us a means of testing the validity of our table. We have seen that the elements mentioned flourished in the Fara period, that is, shortly before Ur-Nanshe(k), and died out in the time of Uru-*KA*-gina. If our arrangement of the various traditions is correct, we should expect to find that names with such elements would occur in our table rather frequently in the period just before Ur-Nanshe(k), would then become scarce, and would finally disappear before we get down to Uru-*KA*-gina.

This is indeed exactly what we do find in the table. In the period before Ur-Nanshe(k) the table has *E n - m e n - n u n - n a*, *B a r - s a l - n u n - n a*, *E n - m e n - b á r a - g e - s i*, *A₅ - k a*, *M e s - k i - á g - g a - š e - e r*, *Gi š - b i l - g a - m e s*,⁴⁸ *U t u l - k a l a m - m a*, *E n - n u n - d a r a -*

⁴⁸ *Gi š - b í l - g a*, the first element of the name Gilgames (written *“G i š - b í l - G A - M E S*, *“G i š - b í l - G i n - M E S*, etc.; see p. 89, n. 128), cannot, of course, be separated from the element *p a p a₄ - G i š - b í l - G A*, *p a p a₄ - G i š - b í l*, or *p a₄ - G i š - b í l* of the Fara names but must represent an abbreviated form of it. The meaning of this element is reasonably clear. *P a₄* (☞, older ☞ and perhaps ☞ [LAK, Nos. 229 and 42]) is the picture of a sprouting seed of grain ☞, as shown by the value *b u l u g* or *d i m₄*, “malt,” i.e., sprouting grain, which the sign has when it is repeated: ☞ ☞. This idea, “sprouting seed,” obviously underlies the value *p a p*, “father” (SL, No. 60.2); the father is called “sprouting seed” as the germ from which a family springs up. The idea is still more clearly expressed in *p a - G i š - b í l - G A*, “forefather” (En-temena Cone [SAK, p. 38] i 35; SL, No. 295.131, has incorrectly *B I L*), also abbreviated as *p a - B I L - G A : a b a b i*: “grandfather,” “forefather” (SL, No. 295.109),

a n - n a , and M e s - a n - n é - p à - d a . Then, however, such names grow scarce; in the generation which follows Ur-Nanshe(k) we find only two, GÁ+ŠUB- n u n - n a and M e s - k i - á - g - n u n - n a . After that time there is not a single name which is composed with any of these elements. Once again we have found our table to be in agreement with other chronological evidence.⁴⁹

The test has thus on all points confirmed our previous results. We have compared the material of the King List with that of historical inscriptions and found that there is only one case in which the King List seems to have missed a ruler whom we should expect to find in it, and this one case may be a simple omission in the course of tradition. We have singled out and correlated

p a₄ - bÍL-GI: a - b i a - b i (ŠL, No. 60.54), etc., which must represent p a - g i š - g e₁₀ - (a) k - a (m), "who was (- a m) the germ (p a) of (- a k) a new (g e₁₀) tree (g i š)." The ancestor is considered as the germ, the acorn, from which the "family tree" has grown. That this explanation is correct is also shown by the early names themselves, for we have the parallels p a₄ - g i š - g e₁₀ - á - n u - k ú š : a - n u - k ú š (< a - á - n u - k ú š) and p a₄ - g i š - g e₁₀ - k a l a m - d u₁₀ : a - k a l a m - d u₁₀, in which p a₄ - g i š - g e₁₀, "germ," "(fore)father," varies with a , which also means "germ" (lit., "semen virile") and "father." The name Gilgames should thus in its full form have been p a₄ - g i š - g e₁₀ - m e s , "man (m e s) who is germ of a new tree," i.e., "a man who is to become originator of a family."

⁴⁹ One further point concerning the Fara names should be mentioned here, although it means anticipating the results of our next chapter, which shows how the above synchronistic list is related to absolute chronology. In *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* LXXI (1935) 89-106 Scharff has discussed a series of finds from Egypt which give evidence of early relations between that country and Mesopotamia. The series in question can be dated on the Egyptian side to the end of the predynastic period; it stops around the time of Menes (*ibid.* p. 93, n. 1). According to Egyptian chronology that would be in the centuries just before 3000 B.C. (Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie . . .*, pp. 68 f., puts the accession of Menes at 3197 with margin of 100 to 200 years; Scharff, *op. cit.* p. 90, n. 3, favors a lower date, shortly before 3000: "Nach meiner Überzeugung liegt nach wie vor keinerlei Anlass dazu vor, mit Menes wesentlich über 3000 hinaufzugehen").

On the Mesopotamian side the affinities of the series extend from the final phase of the Uruk period through Jamdat Naṣr down to Early Dynastic II, the latest parallels being with the seal impressions from Fara which date from that period (Scharff, *op. cit.* pp. 102 f.; Frankfort, *Progress of the Work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq, 1934/35* [OIC No. 20 (1936)] p. 42 and Chronological Table). Now the approximate time when Early Dynastic II ended can be fixed by means of our King List; for the tablets with the characteristic Fara names discussed above belong to the immediately following period, Early Dynastic III (*ibid.* Chronological Table), and in the King List these names begin to appear with En-me(n)-nunna. Early Dynastic II should thus have ended slightly before En-me(n)-nunna; and this ruler reigned, as shown by the King List correlated with absolute chronology (see Table II), around 3050 B.C. There is thus a very noticeable agreement between Egyptian chronology, which places the end of the interrelations in the centuries immediately before 3000 B.C., and our Mesopotamian chronology, which places the end of those interrelations in the period which ended ca. 3050 B.C.

the individual sources in the King List on the basis of a single set of synchronisms. Comparing the resulting table with other synchronisms

Gilgames-Aka
A-Anne-pada-about Ur-Nanshe(k)
En-shakush-Anna(k)-Elulu
En-shakush-Anna(k)-Enbi-Eshtar
En-temena-Lugal-kinishe-dudu

we saw that in the table the rulers in question were actually placed correctly. Lastly, we have shown that a number of royal names appearing in the table are composed with elements which were current in the Fara period but died out before the time of Uru-**KA**-gina. Noting the distribution of these names in the table, we saw that, as should be expected if the table is correct, they center around the time before Ur-Nanshe(k), then grow scarce, and disappear completely before we get down to the period around Uru-**KA**-gina.

VI

RESULTING CHRONOLOGY

It remains to tie in the reconstruction and correlation of the King List with the data of absolute chronology. To that end we must examine briefly extant possibilities of finding reliable fixed points of absolute chronology in older Mesopotamian history, and we must consider the sections of the King List and of additions to it which link the main body of its evidence with such fixed points.

RELEVANT FIXED POINTS OF ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY¹

RECKONING FROM LATE CHRONOLOGICAL LISTS

The general trend of recent years has been to choose as basis the thoroughly established dates of late Assyrian times and to reckon back from them toward the period of Hammurabi by means of Assyrian and Babylonian king lists, supplementing their data with such occasional chronological evidence as can be found in other historical texts. The material falls into two large groups, Assyrian and Babylonian, which we may discuss separately.²

The Assyrian material consists in the main of king lists of various types, *limmu*-lists, and chronological statements in historical inscriptions. Synchro-

¹ From the extensive literature bearing on these problems we may quote F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* II 2 (Münster in Westf., 1912); Weidner, *Studien zur assyrisch-babylonischen Chronologie und Geschichte auf Grund neuer Funde* (MVAG XX 4 [for 1915; 1917]) and *Die Könige von Assyrien; neue chronologische Dokumente aus Assur* (MVAG XXVI 2 [1921]); Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus* (Münster in Westf., 1922); S. A. Cook in *Cambridge Ancient History* I (1923; 2d ed., 1924; reprinted, 1928) 145-56; C. Schoch, *Ammizaduga* (Berlin-Steglitz, 1925); P. Schnabel, "Zur astronomischen Fixierung der altabylonischen Chronologie mittels der Venustafeln der Ammizaduga-Zeit," *ZA* n.F. II (1925) 109-22; Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie Babyloniens, Assyriens und Ägyptens* (1925; 2d ed., 1931); Weidner, "Die grosse Königsliste aus Assur," *AOF* III (1926) 66-77; Thureau-Dangin, "La chronologie des trois premières dynasties babylonniennes," *RA* XXIV (1927) 181-98; Schoch, *Die Ur-Finsternis (eine Hypothese!)* (Berlin, 1927); S. Langdon, J. K. Fotheringham, and C. Schoch, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga* (London, 1928); P. V. Neugebauer, "Zur Frage der astronomischen Fixierung der babylonischen Chronologie," *OLZ* XXXII (1929) 913-21.

² The following short discussion naturally does not pretend to treat exhaustively the numerous and knotty problems in which the late chronological material abounds. It merely intends to blaze a single trail through the jungle: to determine by applying the principles of source criticism which of our sources must be considered most reliable and to build on them only.

nisms found in historical inscriptions, chronicles, synchronistic lists, etc. offer possibilities of connecting these data with data from the lists of Babylonian rulers. In judging the value of this material, we must consider first the basis of Assyrian chronology, the *limmu* system. Assyrian chronology, as is well known, was based on eponym lists in which each year was represented by the name of the person officiating as eponym for that year.³ It is obvious from this that records going back for several centuries, containing many hundreds of names, must have been fairly bulky and must have occupied a considerable number of tablets. For that reason we can be sure that on the whole relatively few copies of the complete eponym list existed and that damage to the records—especially prone to happen in view of their bulk—would be difficult to repair for want of duplicates. With fairly bulky records, likely to be damaged, and with few duplicates to fill in the lacunas which arose, Assyrian records should show a gradual shrinking of figures as in the course of time the few standard sources became more and more defective and more and more eponym names disappeared in lacunas. This is indeed what we actually find. Our oldest chronological source is a statement in an inscription of Shalmaneser I.⁴ According to this, Shamshi-Adad I had rebuilt the Ashur temple 580 years before Shalmaneser himself, and a still older ruler, Ērishum, had rebuilt it 159 years before Shamshi-Adad. Already under Shalmaneser's son and successor, however, we find somewhat lower figures: Tukulti-Ninurta I reckons for the larger span of time from Ilu-shūma, father of Ērishum, down to his own time only 720 years.⁵ Still later, under Esarhaddon, the distance from Ērishum to Shamshi-Adad has shrunk from the 159 years given by Shalmaneser to only 126 years, and similarly the 580 years between Shamshi-Adad and Shalmaneser have become only 434, a total loss of 179 years.⁶ The source which the Assyrian kings consulted for such information, the standard copy or copies of the eponym list, had clearly become steadily more damaged as time went on, so that the scribes of Esarhaddon found far fewer *limmu*-names preserved than did the earlier scribes of Shalmaneser I. Their additions therefore gave very much lower figures. Since we cannot assume that it was only with Shalmaneser I that the gradual deterioration of the older parts of the eponym list here reflected began, it is probable that the figures which he gives are already on the short side.

If we must thus suspect our oldest evidence, we should obviously approach

³ See e.g. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I 2 (3. Aufl.; Stuttgart und Berlin, 1913) § 324; Cook, *op. cit.* pp. 148 f.

⁴ *KAH* I, No. 13 iii 32 ff.

⁵ *KAH* II, Nos. 48 and 59.

⁶ *KAH* I, No. 51, and II, No. 126.

that of the king lists, which would draw from the same source at still later stages, with even more caution. For our purpose this means that we cannot hope to fix the dates of old dynasties such as that of Hammurabi by reckoning back on the evidence of the Assyrian king lists to the Assyrian side of synchronisms for the older period such as Ilu-shūma-Sumu-abum, Ērishum-Sumu-la-El, or Shamshi-Adad-Hammurabi. We must realize that we can rely on the figures of these Assyrian lists in their later part only, approximately from Ashur-uballit downward, where the shrinking should be less pronounced and where synchronisms with Egyptian chronology give us some means of checking the figures.^{6a}

Turning to the Babylonian material, we find it to consist—much as does the Assyrian—of king lists, to wit the famous Babylonian King List A,⁷ and of occasional chronological information given by historical or similar inscriptions. King List A is a relatively late source; it lists Kandalānu and possibly had still later rulers. Of importance in judging its value as a source is the fact that Babylonian chronology was based on the regnal years of the kings. Records—even those going back for centuries—would thus be compact, and it would not be too great a task to copy them. We can therefore assume that more copies of the standard Babylonian chronology were about than was the case with the Assyrian, so that lacunas could comparatively easily be filled in from duplicates. The evidence of the Babylonian king list will therefore inspire somewhat more confidence than that of the Assyrian. We should not forget, however, that the list is a late document and that we have no other copies to check its text. In the long period of tradition from Hammurabi to Kandalānu or later many scribal errors in figures and totals may have crept in, and we have few means of detecting them.

Among the material from inscriptions we should mention the information given on a boundary stone from the fourth year of Enlil-nādin-apli⁸ that 694 years had passed from Gulkishar of the Sea Land to Nebuchadnezzar I. As our earliest Babylonian source this passage must rank comparatively high. A

^{6a} For this reason we have little confidence in the recent tendency to explain the synchronism Shamshi-Adad I-Hammurabi by pulling Hammurabi down to the date assigned to Shamshi-Adad on the basis of the Assyrian king lists (cf. e.g. Albright in *American Schools of Oriental Research, Bulletin* No. 69 [1938] pp. 18 ff.). Reasons for doubting the completeness of the older parts of the Assyrian king lists have also been expressed by Lewy in *ZA* n.F. IV (1929) 95-105. We do not agree with all of his conclusions, but see esp. pp. 104 f. and his correct observations on the variant figures of Esarhaddon's scribes as intentional corrections of Shalmaneser's figures (*ibid.* pp. 102 f.).

⁷ *CT* XXXVI (1921) Pls. 24-25.

⁸ *BE* I 1 (1893) Pls. 30-31, No. 83.

number of references from late times in inscriptions of Nabonidus need not be specially discussed, since their unreliable character is generally recognized.

Our survey has thus shown that, while the Assyrian material is of rather doubtful value and should be used only for the later periods, the Babylonian material inspires somewhat more confidence, although here also we must reckon with possible errors in figures and totals. Foremost among the Babylonian material ranks the information given by the boundary stone, next the evidence of King List A. To get the most reliable basis for our computation we should therefore use the material in the following order of preference: boundary stone, King List A, Assyrian material.

The information on the boundary stone reaches down to Nebuchadnezzar I only. To get connection with the established dating of later times our second best source, King List A, is of no help, since it is too broken to give a continuous series. Even the name of Nebuchadnezzar himself is lost. We must accordingly use the Assyrian lists, which for this part, after Ashur-uballit, must be considered relatively reliable. According to the text VAT 10281⁹ the Assyrian king Ashur-rêsh-îshî I fought with Ninurta-nâdin-shumâti of Babylon, and according to the Synchronistic History¹⁰ Ashur-rêsh-îshî also fought with the successor of Ninurta-nâdin-shumâti, Nebuchadnezzar I. He was, according to the synchronistic lists *KAV*, No. 12, and *Assur* 14616c,¹¹ even contemporaneous with the successor of Nebuchadnezzar, Enlil-nâdin-apli. Ashur-rêsh-îshî reigned 18 years; Nebuchadnezzar, as shown by a boundary stone dated to his 16th year, 16+x years.¹² Since we must allow one or two years at the beginning of Ashur-rêsh-îshî's reign for his war with Ninurta-nâdin-shumâti, the 16 years which represent the minimum for Nebuchadnezzar's reign will take us down to around the last year of Ashur-rêsh-îshî. It therefore seems likely that the death of Nebuchadnezzar, the accession of Enlil-nâdin-apli, and the death of Ashur-rêsh-îshî all happened in the same year. Assyrian king lists show that the last year of Ashur-rêsh-îshî was 1113.¹³ Adding to this

⁹ Weidner in *AOF* IV (1927) 213-17.

¹⁰ *CT* XXXIV (1914) Pl. 39:2-13.

¹¹ *AOF* IV 70 f.

¹² W. J. Hinke, *Selected Babylonian Kudurru Inscriptions* ("Semitic Study Series" XIV [Leiden, 1911]) pp. 21-27 v 26.

¹³ This statement rests in part on information from the Khorsabad king list, which Prof. Poebel is preparing for publication. We are indebted to him for permission to quote this material as basis for the date of Ashur-rêsh-îshî. We may mention that this date agrees with the so-called "Bavian date," which has long been considered a cornerstone for Assyrian chronology. Sennacherib states (III R 14:48-50) that when he had conquered Babylon he brought back "after 418 years" the statues of Adad and Shala of the city Ekallâte which Marduk-nâdin-ahe had taken to Babylon in the time of Tiglathpileser. It is uncertain to what point Sennacherib's scribes counted back. Contrary to what is generally taken for

the 694 years of the boundary stone, we get 1807 as the last year of Gulkishar. Using then the figures for Gulkishar and his predecessors given in King List A ($55+24+16+56+60=211$), we arrive at 2017 as the first year of Iluma-ilum. Now we know that Iluma-ilum was contemporaneous with Samsu-iluna and Abi-Eshuh of the 1st dynasty of Babylon.¹⁴ His rebellion against Samsu-iluna is in all probability referred to in the formula for the 10th year of that ruler: "Year: 'He . . . ed the hosts of Idamaraz, Yamutbal, Uruk, and Isin' "; but the occasion for it would seem to have been the Cassite invasion referred to in the formula for the preceding year, the 9th. Since the date formulas presumably are a year behind the events to which they refer, we should place the Cassite invasion and the beginning of Iluma-ilum's rebellion in Samsu-iluna's 8th year.¹⁵ With Samsu-iluna's 8th year as 2017 his 1st year becomes 2024, and the 43-year reign of his father, Hammurabi, who preceded him, can thus be dated to 2067-2025 B.C.

granted, we consider it highly unlikely that they possessed information as to the exact year in which these statues were taken. More probably they were working from king lists and counted to a figure given there, e.g. the beginning of Marduk-nādin-ahe's reign. Four hundred and eighteen years before Sennacherib's capture of Babylon gives 1107 B.C. According to the king lists Tiglathpileser, the successor of Ashur-rēsh-ishi, began to reign in 1112, and the date thus falls, as it should, within his reign. As we have shown above, Nebuchadnezzar I probably died around 1113. His successor, Enlil-nādin-apli, reigned $4+x$ years (BE I 1, Pls. 30-31, No. 83), i.e., to 1109 or later. Thus 1107 can very well represent the beginning of the reign of his successor, Marduk-nādin-ahe.

¹⁴ King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings* II 18-21.

¹⁵ Of importance for the correlation of the reigns of Samsu-iluna and Iluma-ilum are also tablets from Nippur dated in Iluma-ilum's 2d year (Poebel, *BE* VI 2, No. 68, and in *ZA* XX [1907] 241; Chiera, *PBS* VIII 1, No. 89). The persons mentioned on these tablets recur on other documents ranging in time from the 33d year of Hammurabi to the 18th year of Samsu-iluna (see Poebel in *ZA* XX 241 and Chiera, *op. cit.* p. 66). The year in which Iluma-ilum—as shown by these tablets—held Nippur must therefore be sought within this period. Now the dates on the Nippur tablets published in *BE* VI 2 and *PBS* VIII 1-2 show that Nippur must have been in Samsu-iluna's possession from his 1st to his 8th, from his 10th to his 15th, and from his 17th to his 23d year; for tablets dated to these years have been found in Nippur. As years for which tablets with his dates are missing and in which the city can therefore have been out of his possession there are thus only his 9th and his 16th years. In his 16th year, however, Samsu-iluna was occupied with restoring fortresses in Emutbal (formula for 17th year) south of Nippur, so there can be no question that he then held that city, and the fact that no Nippur tablet with his formula for that year has been found must thus be accidental. This leaves only the 9th year as a year in which Nippur can have belonged to another ruler, and we must accordingly date the Iluma-ilum tablets to that year. Since these tablets belong to the 2d year of Iluma-ilum, his rebellion would thus have begun in the 8th year of Samsu-iluna.

This result is strongly supported by the historical evidence contained in Samsu-iluna's date formulas. In Samsu-iluna's 8th year occurred the Cassite invasion (date formula for 9th year), which furnished an opportunity for a rebellion in the south: Iluma-ilum's 1st

ASTRONOMICAL DATING OF THE HAMMURABI DYNASTY
AND OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

A totally different approach is represented by efforts to fix by astronomical computation the absolute dates of astronomical observations dated according to the Old Babylonian calendar. Foremost among these stand the Venus tablets of Ammi-Šaduqa, the importance of which for ancient Babylonian chronology was recognized by Kugler in 1912. The history of the problem which these tablets present is too well known to call for much comment. We need only state that repeated tests and improvements of Kugler's results coupled with new discoveries make it clear that the observations in question furnish a series of possible datings only. In choosing among these, the best criterion is dated Babylonian contracts dealing with delivery of dates by date-growers. The days of delivery stipulated in these contracts will fall differently according to which of the above-mentioned possibilities is chosen; and, since we must assume that the deliveries would follow soon after the harvest, that possibility which will make them fall most nearly in the time just after date harvest, ending in the middle of October, has obviously the best chance of being correct. As shown by Fotheringham,¹⁶ the possibility which gives the best results is the one which places the reign of Hammurabi from 2067 to 2025, and that dating has now been accepted as the most satisfactory by the majority of the scholars who have worked on the problem.¹⁷ It will be noted how well this astronomical date agrees with the one at which we arrived after a critical sifting of the chronological sources, using for reckoning only those which could be considered the most reliable.

The Venus tablets of Ammi-Šaduqa are not the only ancient observations

year. In the next year, Samsu-iluna's 9th, this rebellion must have spread to Nippur, for in the rebel confederation which met Samsu-iluna that year was Isin, just south of Nippur (date formula for 10th year). This agrees therefore with the occurrence of Iluma-ilum tablets in Nippur that year. In the encounter just mentioned Samsu-iluna was victorious, and in his next (10th) year he was beleaguering Uruk and Ur, destroying their walls (formula for 11th year)—a situation which presupposes that Nippur farther north was already securely in his hands. This fits with the fact that Nippur, as shown by tablets, now again dated by Samsu-iluna formulas. On the correlation of Iluma-ilum and Samsu-iluna see also Schnabel, *Die babylonische Chronologie in Berossos' Babyloniaka* (MVAG XIII 5 [Berlin, 1908]) pp. 19 f. Schnabel wrote before Nippur tablets dated to the 10th year of Samsu-iluna had been published and therefore considered both the 9th and 10th years Iluma-ilum years, so that his synchronism comes out one year too low.

¹⁶ Langdon, Fotheringham, and Schoch, *op. cit.* pp. 69 ff. Neugebauer's objections to this criterion (OLZ XXXII 918 f.) seem too theoretical and general in character to carry weight.

¹⁷ Besides Fotheringham, also Schoch, Langdon, and Schnabel (ZA n.F. II 109–22) accept this date.

which afford a possibility of establishing an absolute date in older Mesopotamian history by means of astronomical reckoning. On the basis of observations of a lunar eclipse foreboding the fall of I(b)bi-Sin and the end of the 3d dynasty of Ur, Schoch has calculated that this omen occurred on the night of February 17/18 (Gregorian), 2283 B.C.¹⁸ Now it is a highly important fact indeed that the two mutually independent astronomical dates, Fotheringham's for the 8th year of Ammi-Šaduqa, which places Hammurabi at 2067-2025 B.C., and Schoch's for the omen foreboding the fall of Ur III, 2283 B.C., give just the span of time between these two events which from our chronological lists can be seen to have separated them. Langdon has commented briefly on this fact,¹⁹ but the revised text of the additions to the Sumerian King List established above (pp. 122-27) and a reconsideration of the correlation of Ur III, Isin, Larsa, and Babylon I makes it possible to state the argument with greater precision than he has done.

The correlation of the dynasty of Larsa with the 1st dynasty of Babylon has been safely established by Thureau-Dangin.²⁰ According to the date formula for the 31st year of Hammurabi, which refers to his capture of Rīm-Sin of Larsa, that event can be placed in the 30th year of Hammurabi, that is, in 2038 B.C. according to Fotheringham's chronology. A list from Larsa giving 14 years for Hammurabi again shows that Larsa must have come into his possession in his 30th year, for Hammurabi reigned 43 years in all.²¹ As for the

¹⁸ Schoch, *Die Ur-Finsternis (eine Hypothese)*; cf. Langdon in Langdon, Fotheringham, and Schoch, *op. cit.* p. 82; Neugebauer in *Astronomische Chronologie* I (1929) 96. Schoch added "eine Hypothese" because he found difficulties in correlating this date with the one found by Fotheringham for the Hammurabi dynasty. These difficulties disappear, however, on closer examination of the chronological lists at our disposal and of the correlation of the dynasties involved.

¹⁹ Langdon, Fotheringham, and Schoch, *op. cit.* p. 82.

²⁰ *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, pp. 40-42.

²¹ Additional evidence is offered by the fact that the date formula for the 30th year of Hammurabi actually seems to be the earliest date formula of that ruler found in Larsa and also by a date list found in Larsa (*YOS* I, No. 33) which begins with this year (see Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* p. 42). We should also mention a tablet with double dating published by Langdon (*RA* XXVII [1930] 23-25). This tablet gives the year in which it was written as both the 8th and the 10th year after Isin was captured. On the correlation assumed, the 8th year of Rīm-Sin's Isin era corresponds to the 10th year of an Isin era counted from the Babylonian conquest of the city under Šin-muballīt. That our tablet actually dated from this year and that its figures 8 and 10 refer to Larsa and Babylonian Isin eras respectively is especially probable since the year in question is just that in which Hammurabi brought Isin back under Babylonian rule. A revival of the Babylonian Isin era in that year is therefore very understandable. (Langdon's solution, which assumes that the figure 8 refers to the 8th year of Hammurabi, seems to us less probable, especially as we have no other evidence of dating by regnal years from this period.)

reign of Rîm-Sîn, a slight discrepancy exists between the tablet just mentioned, which gives him 61 years, and a large prism with Larsan date formulas, which sums up his date formulas as only 60. This discrepancy is naturally explained on the assumption that the scribe who wrote the tablet counted Rîm-Sîn's formula for the year in which Hammurabi took the city, 2038 B.C., which would have both a Rîm-Sîn and a Hammurabi formula, whereas the scribe who wrote the prism did not.²² Rîm-Sîn's reign of 61 years thus comprises the years from 2098 to 2038 B.C. inclusive; and, since the dynasty lasted 263 years, its first year, the one in which Naplânûm made himself independent in Larsa, becomes 2300 B.C.

To correlate the dynasty of Isin with those of Larsa and Babylon we must determine when in the date formulas of these dynasties the fall of the Isin dynasty is recorded. In the period which can come into consideration Isin is referred to four times, and the earliest reference recording the capture of the city by a foreign power presumably gives us the date when the independent dynasty of Isin came to an end. The four references are:

Rîm-Sîn year 25 (=Sîn-muballît year 14)

Sîn-muballît year 17 (=Rîm-Sîn year 28)

Rîm-Sîn year 30 (=Sîn-muballît year 19)

Hammurabi year 7 (=Rîm-Sîn year 38).

Now the first of these references, that from the 25th year of Rîm-Sîn, can hardly, as is generally assumed, refer to a capture of Isin. The formula²³ reads:

[m u á - m] a h a n d e n - lîl d e n - k i - g a - t a u r u k i d a m - q i - l i - lî - šu á - d a m z a g š u - d i b - b i l - s i - i n k i - k a s i p a z i d [r i - i] m - d s i n (E N - Z U) i n - d i b - b a [š i r - š] i r - r a lú [+ K Á R - a] l a r s a k i - m a - š è b i - i n - t u - r e ' u 4 - u l - a - t a ù - m a - a - n i m u - u n - g u b - b a

"Year when by the exalted power of An, Enlil, and Enki the city (called) Damqî-ilišu, (namely) crowds from the conquered border district of Isin,²⁴ which the true shepherd Rîm-Sîn had seized, he (i.e., Rîm-Sîn) brought into Larsa in chains and captive and established his victory forever."²⁵

²² Thus also Ungnad in *ZDMG* LXXIV (1920) 424 and in *RLA* II 155.

²³ Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.* p. 55, AO 7025 obv. iii 47-51.

²⁴ I.e., a d a m z a g š u - d i b b - a I s i n - (a) k - a (k) . We assume that the neighboring *i*'s of d i b b and I s i n changed the - a of d i b b - a into - e .

²⁵ Thureau-Dangin translates: "[année où, avec la force sublimée d'Anu, Enlil et Enki, le pasteur légitime [Rîm-Sîn prit la 'ville de Damqî-ilišu,' la foule (des habitants) d'Isin, transféra à Larsa], établit pour toujours sa puissance victorieuse." Ungnad in *RLA* II 163, No. 227, translates: "Mit der hohen Kraft Anus, Enlils und Enkis eroberte der wahre Hirt Rîm-Sîn die Stadt des Damqî-ilišu und die völlig(?) eingeschlossene(?) Einwohnerschaft von Isin, brachte nach Larsa und errichtete für alle Zeit seinen Triumph." A serious objection to these translations—apart from the fact that

Here, as will be seen, only a minor victory is reported, a capture of the population of a city in the border district of Isin, not the capture of the capital itself.²⁶

As the first actual capture of Isin itself we must therefore consider only the second of the references listed, that of the 17th year of Sîn-muballit, which reads:

m u i - s i - i n - n a k i i n - d i b - b a

"Year when he (i.e., Sîn-muballit) took Isin."

Since in general a date formula may be assumed to refer to an event of the preceding year, this capture of Isin should have taken place in Sîn-muballit's 16th year, that is, in 2072 B.C. according to Fotheringham's chronology, and here we may therefore place the end of the independent dynasty of Isin.

The duration of the dynasty of Isin was 226 years, as we have seen above (pp. 124-27 and notes). Since 2072 B.C. was the last year of the dynasty, we get 2297 B.C. as its first year, the year in which Ishbî-Irra set himself up as independent ruler in Isin according to Fotheringham's dating.

Now according to Schoch's computation, the eclipse which heralded the fall of I(b)bi-Sîn took place in the night between the 17th and 18th of February, 2283 B.C., and, since the Babylonian New Year fell toward the end of March, I(b)bi-Sîn's last year was thus 2284/83 B.C. Inasmuch as I(b)bi-Sîn's reign lasted 25 years, the rebellions of Naplânûm and Ishbî-Irra should thus, if both Fotheringham's and Schoch's datings are correct, have taken place in his 9th and 12th years respectively; that is, his kingdom began to break up in his 9th year.

This, however, is exactly the year which other evidence indicates as the fateful year of his rule. From the well known letter of I(b)bi-Sîn²⁷ we know that during the later part of his reign he ruled only the city-state of Ur and was contemporaneous with Ishbî-Irra of Isin. The event which caused his authority over all Babylonia to crumble was apparently connected with a campaign

they do not account satisfactorily for *z a g š u - d i b - b i*—is the casual way in which Isin would be mentioned: "the city of Damiq-ilishu." That this is not a natural way of referring to that important and time-honored capital shows up very distinctly by comparison with the formula in which Rim-Sîn actually does relate its capture (30th year): "Year when with the exalted weapons of An, Enlil, and Enki the true shepherd Rim-Sîn seized Isin, the city of kingship, and its population, as many as there were, granted pardon to its widespread people, and had its royal name appear forever" (i.e., allowed it to retain its status as royal city). To refer to such a city merely as "the city of Damiq-ilishu" would minimize the importance of the victory.

²⁶ That the city in question is not Isin is also held by George Tyler Molyneux in *JSOR* IV (1920) 87-90.

²⁷ *PBS XIII*, No. 3; Barton, *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, No. 9.

against Anshan, for in the text *BE XXXI*, No. 3, we hear first about the divine decision to bring evil times on the land, then, after a lacuna, about an expedition of I(b)bi-Sin to Anshan, and immediately afterward about the calamity of Sumer. This evidence is supported by a date list dealing with part of I(b)bi-Sin's reign, for there the date formulas after the first, which tells of the campaign against Anshan,²⁸ suddenly have no more political references but deal only with religious events centered around the cult in Ur itself. It is therefore obvious that I(b)bi-Sin suffered a severe setback in the year when the campaign to Anshan took place. Now we can form a fair idea of where in his reign this event should be placed, for it is obvious that those of his date formulas which have been found on tablets from Nippur or other northern sites in Babylonia must belong to the early part of his reign when he ruled the whole country, and the same is true of formulas which by their content show that they are the formulas of an important king, not just a petty king ruling merely the territory around Ur. On the other hand, formulas which deal only with religious events, centered around the cult in Ur, and have been found only in Ur but not in other parts of the country are likely to belong to the later part of his reign.

Now we find that there are only ten formulas which from the place where they were found or from internal evidence show that they belong to I(b)bi-Sin's early years, namely:²⁹

- (1) mu^{di}-bi^{-ds}in(EN-ZU) lugal-à m
"Year: 'I(b)bi-Sin became king.'"
- (2) mu en^dinanna unu^{ki}-g a máš-e i-pà
"Year: 'The *enu* of Inanna(k) of Uruk was envisaged on the (entrails of the omen-)kid.'"
- (3) mu^{di}-bi^{-ds}in(EN-ZU) lugal ur^{ki}-ma-ke₄ si-mu-ru-u^{mk}i
mu-hul
"Year: 'I(b)bi-Sin, king of Ur, sacked Simurum.'"
- (4) mu en-am-gal-an-na en^dinanna ba-húñ
"Year: 'En-am-gal-Anna(k), the *enu* of Inanna(k), was invested.'"

²⁸ *UET I*, No. 292; cf. No. 290.

²⁹ The known formulas of I(b)bi-Sin's reign are listed by Schneider in *An. Or.* XIII (1936) 36-39. The first six of the formulas here quoted have been found in Nippur. The remaining four prove by their content that when they were written I(b)bi-Sin was a king of considerable power and influence. In our list parentheses are used with the year numbers of formulas the chronological position of which is fixed by date lists or similar evidence. Brackets are used for those the order of which is hypothetical. The place of No. [10] as the last of the early formulas is assured by the change to formulas referring only to local events in *UET I*, No. 292.

(5) mu tu-ki-in-hattā-mi-ig-ri-ša DUMU-SAL lugal ensi za-a-b-ša-likī-ke₄ ba-an-tuk
 "Year: 'The ensi(k) of Zabshali married Tukin-hattī-migrisha, the daughter of the king.'"

[6] mu bād-gal nipru^{ki} ur^{ki}-ma ba-dū-a
 "Year when the great walls of Nippur and Ur were built."

[7] mu ^{di}-bī-^{ds}īn(EN-ZU) lugal ur^{ki}-ma-ka ^{de}n-līl-le [me-lām-a-ni] kur-kur-rā bī-in-šudun
 "Year: 'Enlil put the terrible splendor of I(b)bī-Sin, king of Ur, as a yoke on all lands.'"

[8] mu ^{di}-bī-^{ds}īn(EN-ZU) lugal ur^{ki}-ma-ra MAR-TU ID-IM-QAL ul-ta uru^{ki} nu-zu gū im-ma-na-an-gā-a-r
 "Year: 'To I(b)bī-Sin, king of Ur, did Amurru, a which from of old knew not cities, make obeisance.'"

[9] mu ^{di}-bī-^{ds}īn(EN-ZU) lugal ur^{ki}-ma-ke₄ šušankī a-dam-dun^{ki} ma-dā a-wa-a-n^{ki}-ka u₄-gim šid bī-in-gi₄ u₄ 1-a mu-un-gam ù en-bi LÚ+[KÁR]-a mi-ni-in-díb-ba-a
 "Year when I(b)bī-Sin, king of Ur, roared like a storm in Susa, Adamdun, and Awan, subdued them in one day, and took their lords captive."^{29a}

[10] mu ^{di}-bī-^{ds}īn(EN-ZU) lugal ur^{ki}-ma-ke₄ hū-úh-nu-ri^{ki} sa k(!)-kul(!) ma-dā an-ša-a-n^{ki}-šē (var. elam^{ki}-[šē]) dugud-bi ba-ši-gen...bi sa-bī-in-gar
 "Year: 'I(b)bī-Sin, king of Ur, went in fashion to Huh(u)nuri, the key (lit., "lock")^{29b} of the land of Anshan (var., Elam) and'"

The last, that which records the campaign against Anshan, would thus be the formula for I(b)bī-Sin's 10th year, and the event which it records should have taken place in his 9th year. This is the very year in which, according to Schoch's and Fotheringham's dates, Naplānum made himself independent in Larsa.

There is thus full agreement between (1) the absolute date for the 1st dynasty of Babylon as derived from the best of our chronological texts, (2) Fotheringham's astronomical date for that same dynasty, and (3) Schoch's astronomical date for the fall of the 3d dynasty of Ur. This fact speaks strongly for their correctness, and we have accepted them with little hesitation.^{29c}

^{29a} Cf. Poebel's translation of this formula in *AOF IX* (1933/34) 248.

^{29b} In the reading and interpretation of this word we are following Poebel, quoted in George G. Cameron, *The History of Early Iran* (Chicago, 1936) p. 58, n. 43.

^{29c} The author has chosen this phrase deliberately and as distinct from "without hesitation." The date here accepted is in our considered opinion head and shoulders above other possibilities in probability. The convergence on it of the three independent lines of

CONNECTION OF DATABASE DYNASTIES WITH THOSE
IN THE KING LIST PROPER

THE REIGN OF UTU-HEĞAL

As shown by our detailed discussion of the text of the additions to the King List (pp. 122-25 and notes), the duration of the 3d dynasty of Ur can be set at 109 years. Its first year would thus be 2392 B.C. The first king of the dynasty, Ur-Nammu(k), held office as governor (*shakkanakku*) of Ur³⁰ under Utu-heğal, the last ruler listed in the King List proper, so it is clear that he must have followed fairly closely upon the latter. An exact correlation of the two rulers meets, however, with certain difficulties, of which the most important is that presented by the reign of Utu-heğal.

As we have seen, the King List can be dated to the reign of Utu-heğal (p. 141). If it was written under him, it seems highly probable, however, that the figure which it gives for his reign, 7 years, 6 months, and 15 days, represents not his full reign but only his reign up to date, that is, to the day on which the scribe finished his work. The very exactness of the figure supports such an assumption; for, since our scribe usually gives the reigns in full years, it is likely that he would have rounded off Utu-heğal's reign also if he had had it complete. The dating down to month and day in this last figure of the list is, on the other hand, natural if he here reckons to the day on which he finished his work. We must therefore allow for the possibility that Utu-heğal may have reigned longer than the time given in the King List.³¹

investigation mentioned places it almost as high in probability as that conception allows. But we do not think it exceeds those borders; it still hovers slightly below the line separating highest probability from proven fact.

³⁰ *UET* I, No. 30, a building inscription concerning E-kishirgal in Ur. The restoration of *ur- [. . .]* in i 10 as *ur-[d]n a m m u* can be considered certain since the writing points to his time and since we know from the Ur-Nammu(k) hymn in *TRS* I, No. 12:109: *é-kiš-ši[r]-gá[.l] h[ur]-sag-ga(!)-gim ki-gal-la bi-gub*, "E-kishirgal like a mountain I set upon . . .," that Ur-Nammu(k) really did build E-kishirgal. Landsberger's skepticism (*OLZ* XXXIV [1981] 118, n. 1) is therefore unfounded.

³¹ Another difficulty may at least be mentioned briefly. Analogy from Lagash indicates that the Sumerian cities dated according to local date formulas down into Ur-Nammu(k)'s reign. The local date lists from Ur may therefore have contained date formulas of Ur-Nammu(k) back into the time when he ruled that city as governor of Utu-heğal. If the additions to the King List were made in Ur on the basis of such a list, the 18 years assigned to Ur-Nammu(k) could thus include all or part of the time in which he was merely governor. Since we have no special reason to believe that the additions were made in Ur and since—as Landsberger has pointed out (*loc. cit.*)—the extensive building activities of Ur-Nammu(k) outside Ur suggest a long reign, it is more probable that his 18 years actually stand for the time in which he ruled all Babylonia. The Chronicle Weidner, which has been brought into the discussion (Christian and Weidner in *AOF* V [1928-29] 140), states that Utu-heğal

The difficulty here met with cannot be solved on the evidence of the King List and its additions. It is therefore fortunate that we have other material which indicates in which direction the solution lies. Schoch's article in which he calculated the eclipse of the moon foreboding the fall of Ur deals also with observations concerning an eclipse which took place on the 14th of *itūš u* (-n u m u n) and which foreboded: "A decision will be given the king of the Gutians; downfall of the Gutians by weapons will take place. The land will be lying destitute."³² That this omen has reference to Utu-heḡal's famous victory over the Gutians, which freed a country bare and destitute after years of Gutian misrule, seems obvious. That, more important, the late text in which the observations are contained actually rests on a sound historical basis is indicated by the inscription of Utu-heḡal himself.³³ According to Utu-heḡal's account of the campaign, he camped the night before the battle near Muru. As he had prayed to other city gods on his route, so he prayed to Ishkur also. But the account does not, as usual, stop there; a passage, unfortunately broken, goes on: "In the midst of the night" Something of importance must thus have occurred in the night just before the decisive battle. What it was can hardly be doubtful; it must have been the lunar eclipse foreboding victory over the king of Gutium. The moon-god Sīn, the special god of the Gutians,³⁴ became darkened in token of their imminent defeat. Now Schoch has shown that in the period which can come into consideration there actually was a very noticeable eclipse of the moon which took place, as stated in the text, on the 14th of *itūš u* -n u m u n and, also as stated in the text, lasted from the first watch to the middle watch. This was the eclipse of the 20th of July, 2403 B.C.,

committed some evil act and that his body was carried away by the river. It then goes on (*ZA* n.F. VIII 49, 1. 30): "[To] Shulgi, son of divine Ur-Nammu(k), he (i.e., Marduk) gave the kingship of all countries." The reason why the author of the chronicle has Marduk give the "kingship of all countries" only to Shulgi, not to his father and predecessor, Ur-Nammu(k), although he knows him, is probably that Ur-Nammu(k)'s kingdom never came up to the standards implied in the term *šarrūt kiššat matātē*, "kingship of all countries." Note that, in contrast to Utu-heḡal and Shulgi, Ur-Nammu(k) does not use the title "king of the four regions." (An exception is perhaps Barton, *RISA*, p. 274, No. 13. We do not feel certain, however, that Barton's rendering is correct.) The chronicle apparently implies that Marduk held back the "kingship of all countries" after the death of Utu-heḡal until the reign of Shulgi. This agrees with historical conditions. The statement cannot therefore be used—as it is by Christian and Weidner in *AOF* V 140 f.—to indicate that Shulgi followed almost directly upon Utu-heḡal. Nor does this statement—as maintained by Landsberger (*loc. cit.*)—disprove the value of the chronicle as a chronological document.

³² C. Viroilleaud, *L'astrologie chaldéenne* (Paris, 1905-12) *Sin* XXXIII 18-36.

³³ *RA* IX (1912) 112 f.

³⁴ Note the inscription of Laerab (*ZA* IV [1889] 406; *SAK*, p. 170), ll. 18-21: *ila gu-ti-im* *dinanna u dšin*, "the gods of Gutium, Inanna(k) and Sīn."

lasting from 9^h9^m to 12^h51^m in the night.³⁵ There is therefore little reason to doubt that our evidence is reliable, and we can date Utu-hegal's victory over the Gutians at Muru, which took place the day after this portent, to July 21, 2403 B.C.

This dating corroborates our suspicion that the figure for Utu-hegal may not represent his complete reign. As we have seen above, the 3d dynasty of Ur began in 2392 B.C., which would represent the first year of Ur-Nammu(k). Utu-hegal's reign must thus have lasted more than 7 years, 6 months, and 15 days to reach from his victory over the Gutians in 2403 down to that date.

The dating of the victory over the Gutians still leaves a small amount of uncertainty concerning Utu-hegal, inasmuch as we do not know exactly where within the 7 years etc. given by the King List that event should be placed. That it represents the beginning of Utu-hegal's reign is not very likely, for from his inscription it is clear that when the summons from Enlil came he had so complete control of Uruk that he could gather the army and lead it out to a campaign without even stating what the object was to be. We must therefore imagine that he was already well established as ruler. Under these circumstances, and until further evidence turns up, it therefore seems best to place this victory where we will get the smallest margin of error, namely in his 4th year, the middle of the 7 given in the King List. This leaves a margin of error of only 3 years.

GUTIUM AND AGADE

With the period from Utu-hegal back to Agade we are within the limits of the King List proper, and it is therefore natural to ask whether the peculiarities of its author and the methods which he used in dealing with his material may not have influenced this, the last part of his work, as they did the earlier parts studied above. Our first concern must therefore be to get as clear a picture as possible of the sources at his disposal.

The evidence which we have concerning conditions during the Gutian period tends to show that the larger cities of southern Babylonia enjoyed a certain measure of independence. They were ruled by their own *e n s i* (k)'s and —to us the most important point—they apparently dated from local calen-

³⁵ A smaller eclipse on July 20, 2384, can hardly come into consideration, since placing the defeat of Gutium there would unduly shorten the reign of Ur-Nammu(k) as king of all Babylonia. It would also presuppose that Ur-Nammu(k) began to rule in Ur before Utu-hegal in Uruk. This is, however, very unlikely; for the fact that Ur-Nammu(k)'s personal deity is Ninsun (*UET* I, No. 47; *TRS* I, No. 12:112-13), a goddess closely connected with Uruk, suggests that he hails from that city. It is therefore natural to assume that he was one of Utu-hegal's men who was made governor of Ur after Utu-hegal's victory over Gutium had brought Sumer into his hands.

dars featuring local events in the year dates.³⁶ We may therefore assume that Uruk also had its local calendar. Since the Agade kings, who ruled Babylonia before Gutium, had succeeded in establishing a central calendar used all over the country, we may assume furthermore that the local Uruk date lists continued that calendar (i.e., they had Agade date formulas) until the fall of that city, then continued with local formulas featuring local events and rulers, of whom Utu-hegal would be the last.^{36a}

To such lists as these, the date lists of his day, the author of the King List naturally had access, and from what we have learned about him and about the methods which he employed in dealing with his sources it must be considered highly unlikely that he discarded any of the material which they contained. He worked, as we have seen, almost exclusively by a method of interpolation. Therefore when we find that the King List gives the Gutian dynasty wedged in between rulers of Uruk, Ur-Utu(k) and his predecessors above, Utu-hegal below, it begins to look suspiciously as though that dynasty had been interpolated in a succession of Uruk rulers taken from the local Uruk date lists. If this suspicion is justified, the Gutian dynasty instead of separating the 4th and 5th dynasties of Uruk actually ran parallel with them. Placing—as suggested above—the defeat of Tirigan in the 4th year of Utu-hegal, which limits the margin of error to some 3 years, and assuming that Ur-niggin(ak) of Uruk instituted his own calendar with local date formulas when the last Agade king, Shu-Durul, died, we get the revised arrangement shown on the following page.

To decide whether this or the successive arrangement of the dynasties presented by the King List comes nearer to the truth we may compare first the evidence of Sumerian historical tradition. We possess a number of texts which state that the reign of Narâm-Sin ended in disaster. The Sumerian text *BE XXXI*, No. 1, relates a tale of unsuccessful omens and divine decision to overthrow his rule. The same tradition is found in the long Narâm-Sin text edited by Güterbock,³⁷ where the gods likewise determine to overthrow his reign and give his kingship to someone else. In its most precise form the tradition appears in Chronicle Weidner,³⁸ according to which Narâm-Sin incurred divine wrath so that his rule was overthrown and his kingship given to Gutium. That this widespread tradition rests on a solid historical basis is shown, further, by

³⁶ See the local year dates of this period from Lagash in *RLA* II 133 f.

^{36a} Cf. the parallels from, e. g., Eshnunna(k), where the calendar similarly changed from "centralized dates" to local dates when the city became independent after the 3d dynasty of Ur.

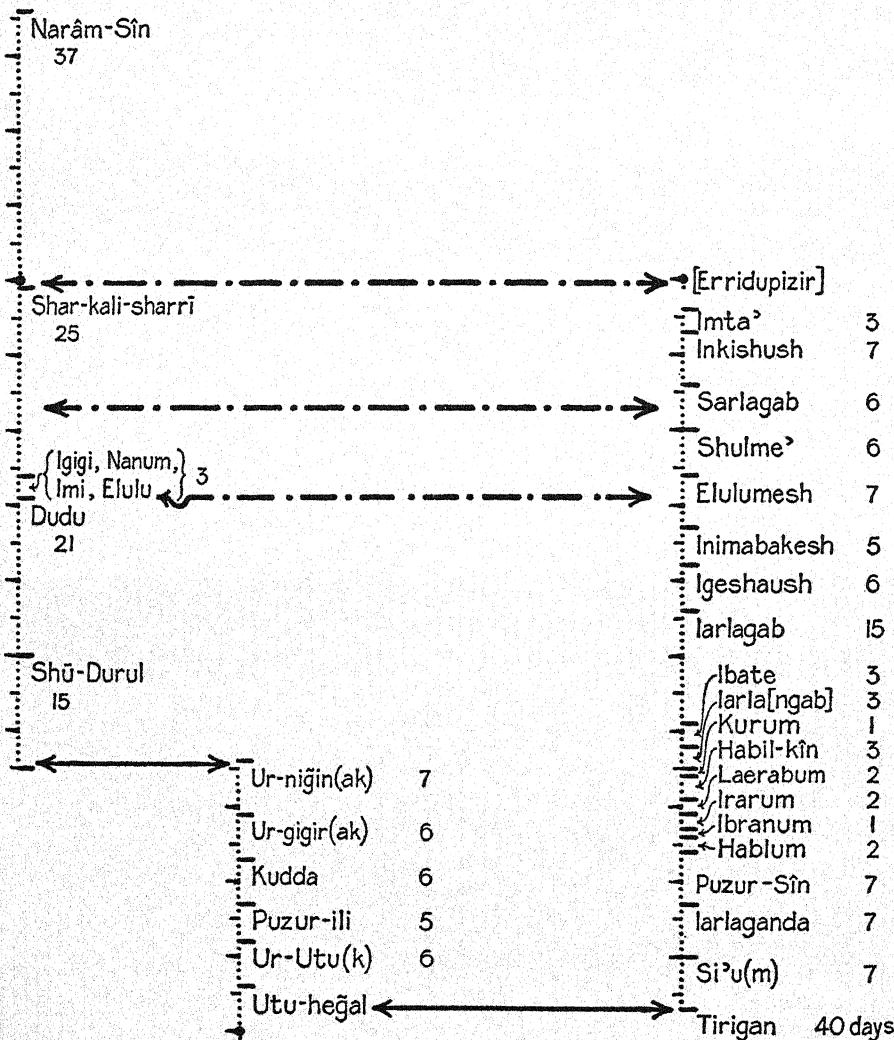
³⁷ *ZA* n.F. VIII 28, ll. 31–33.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 49, ll. 20–22; cf. Christian and Weidner in *AOF* V (1928–29) 140.

AGADE

URUK

GUTIUM



a contemporary document, a letter written in the time just after Narâm-Sîn, which shows that the Gutian hordes were then already the actual masters of the country.³⁹

Now it will be seen that the revised arrangement given above actually has the beginning of the Gutian dynasty at the end of Narâm-Sîn's reign, in full agreement with the Sumerian tradition that Narâm-Sîn was overthrown and that the Gutians took over his kingship. It is therefore clearly preferable to the successive arrangement of the dynasties now presented by the King List; for there the Gutians are separated from Narâm-Sîn by twelve later rulers, covering nearly a century. This result is not surprising, for the successive arrangement rests solely on the authority of the order of dynasties given in the King List, and that feature of the list is, as we have seen above, quite unreliable.

The evidence from Sumerian tradition is not the only argument which shows that the parallel arrangement of the dynasties is correct. Among the Gutian rulers is one Elulumesh, whose name is evidently Akkadian Elulum slightly "Gutianized" by the Gutian case(?) ending *-eš*.⁴⁰ This Gutian ruler Elulum is obviously the same man whom we find participating in the scramble for power after the death of Shar-kali-sharri; his name appears there in Sumerian form without mimation as Elulu. The correctness of the revised arrangement comes out plainly when we find that there Elulum's reign as Gutian ruler and his participation in the struggle after Shar-kali-sharri belong to the same time. By the successive arrangement they would be pulled more than eighty years apart.

Lastly we may mention a date formula of Shar-kali-sharri, according to which this ruler was a contemporary of the Gutian king Sarlag (*sar-la-ag*), whom he defeated.⁴¹ Now the King List has among the Gutian rulers one whose name is written *s a r - k i l - l a - g a b* (var. *z à_r - a r - l a - g a - b a*). Since *kil* may itself be read *l a g a b*, it seems reasonable to assume that the repetitious *l a - g a b* following it represents a gloss which has got down into the line, so that we should read *s a r - l a g a b^{la-gab}*, an assumption supported by the variant also.⁴² It is not difficult to recognize in the name Sarlag an abbreviated form of this Sarlagab; and the correctness of the revised

³⁹ *JRAS*, 1932, p. 296, BM 121205.

⁴⁰ That (*e*)*š* is a grammatical ending is suggested by the frequency with which it occurs at the end of Gutian proper names. Cf. *Inimabak-eš*, *Inkišu-(e)š*, *Igešau-(e)š*, and *Iarla-ga-(e)š*.

⁴¹ *RTC*, No. 118; *SAK*, p. 225 c.

⁴² See the discussion of the name above (p. 118, n. 291).

arrangement is once more evidenced when we find that in it Sarlagab and Shar-kali-sharri appear as contemporaries.

The parallel arrangement, suggested by consideration of sources and of the methods used by the author of the King List, is thus vouched for by Sumerian historical tradition, which makes Gutian domination begin after Narâm-Sîn, by the fact that it places the apparently identical Elulu and Elulumes in the same period, and by the fact that its correlation of Shar-kali-sharri with Sarlagab corresponds with the synchronism Shar-kali-sharri-Sarlag. We have therefore adopted it in preference to the successive arrangement, for which there is no other authority than the highly suspect present order of dynasties in the King List.

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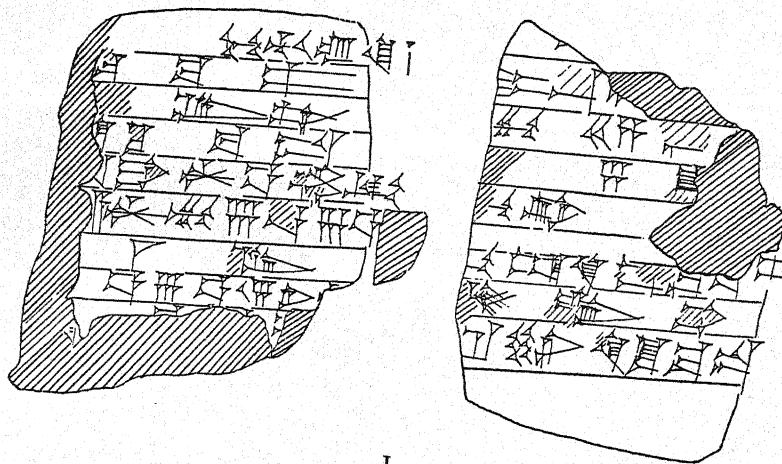
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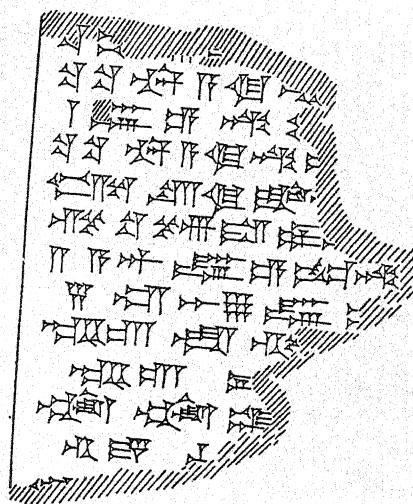
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